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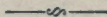






TACITUS, ANNALS I.

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TACITUS,  
ANNALS I.

*WITH INTRODUCTIONS, NOTES, ETC.,*

BY

W. F. MASOM, B.A. LOND.,

UNIVERSITY EXHIBITIONER, FIRST-CLASS HONOURMAN IN  
CLASSICS, EDITOR OF "HERODOTUS, VI.,"

AND

C. S. FEARENSIDE, M.A. OXON.,

HONOURMAN IN HISTORY AND CLASSICS (FIRST CLASS).



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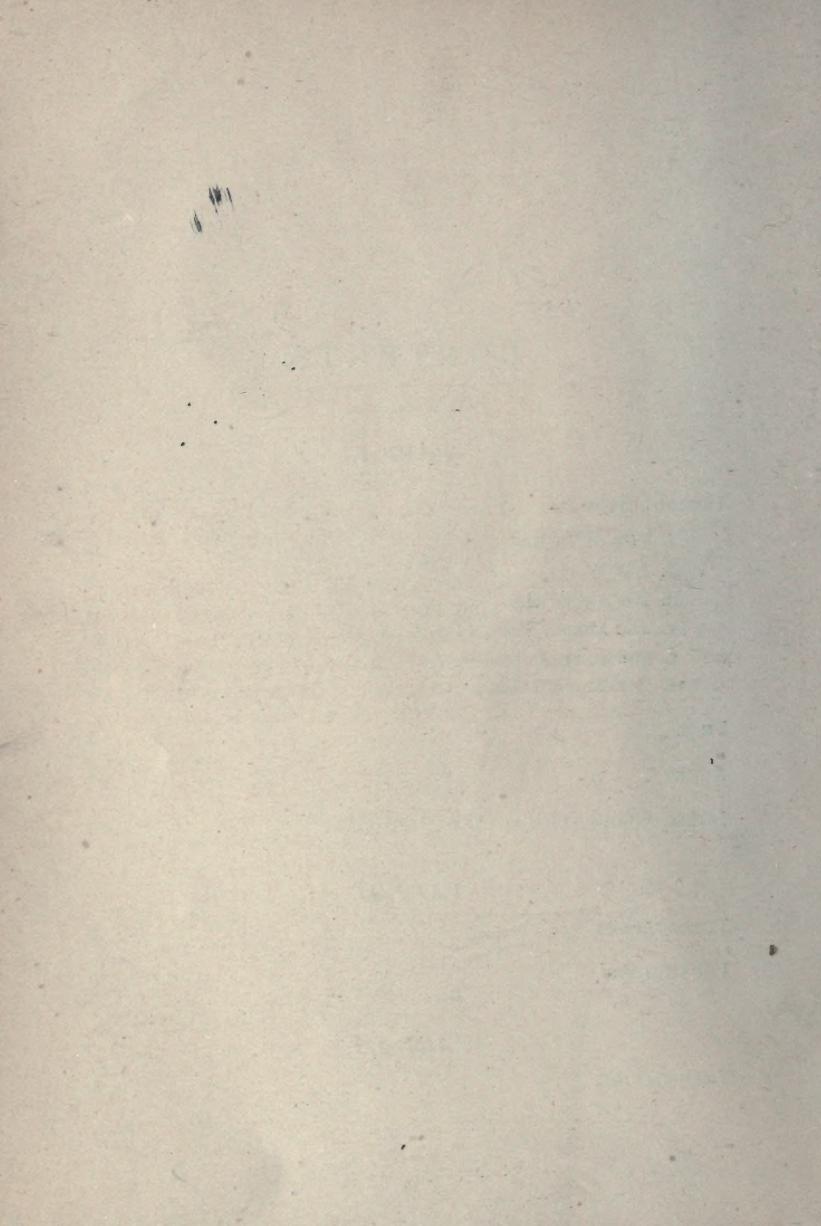
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## HOW TO USE THIS BOOK.



Part I. consists of (a) Introduction, (b) Text, (c) Notes.  
Part II. contains (a) Vocabularies, and (b) Test Papers.  
Part III. contains a Translation.

Before commencing the TEXT read the INTRODUCTION, in order to obtain a general idea of the subject-matter, referring to it subsequently as occasion requires. In a final reading, immediately before the examination, all important points should be carefully committed to memory.

In reading the TEXT the chief object should be to *arrive at the meaning with as little help as possible*, while nevertheless ensuring perfect accuracy. There will probably occur, even in the first sentence, (a) some words which you do not know, and (b) some difficulty in seeing the exact construction. For the first, turn to the VOCABULARIES; for the second, to the NOTES. If there occur any words which you do not know, and which do not appear in the Vocabulary, write them neatly down, with their meaning, in a double column upon the blank pages left for the purpose, adding genitive cases or principal parts, etc., exactly as has been done in the case of the printed words.

After doing your utmost to make out the passage in this way, turn to the TRANSLATION and see how far you were right. The Translation is not intended to save the reader the trouble of making out the meaning, but to serve as a test of his accuracy and to correct his errors. Beginners may find such a method as this somewhat slow at first,

but speed will soon be attained, while the memory will be strengthened in a degree otherwise unattainable.

Variant readings are not noticed in the NOTES, excepting when they differ from the University Correspondence College Text sufficiently to perplex the student if adopted by the examiners. When given, it is as well to write the variant reading in the margin of the text, and to grasp the meaning and syntax of either reading in the same degree.

Make a point of looking up all references to the text which occur in the Notes, marking them, for the sake of future reference, with the number of the note in which they are mentioned.

The *subject-matter*, excepting in so far as it is explained in the Introduction, may, as a rule, be neglected on first reading the book; more thorough attention can thus be given to the *language*.

When reading the book for the first time, work through the *first* series of TEST PAPERS, leaving the *second* series for the second and subsequent perusals.

On reading the text through for the last time previous to the Examination, mark in Text, Notes, and Vocabularies such points as will require still a final revision.

## INTRODUCTION.

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§ 1. **Life of Tacitus.** The name, date of birth, birthplace, and family rank of the last great Roman historian are involved in obscurity. His *nomen*, or name derived from his *gens*, was Cornelius, but it is still doubtful whether his *praenomen* was Gaius or Publius; and that his birthplace was Interamna only rests on the fact that thence sprang the Emperor Tacitus. But the opinion is now generally held that he was born between A.D. 50 and A.D. 55, of a family which, whether equestrian or senatorial, was possessed of considerable influence in the state. In his youth he underwent the rhetorical training customary with Romans of rank, and acquired considerable reputation as an orator. He must have shown great promise at an early age, for in A.D. 78 he married the daughter of the greatest general of the time, Julius Agricola. About A.D. 80, in the reign of Vespasian, he entered on his career of office by obtaining the quaestorship, a dignity which gave him a seat in the senate. The aedileship and praetorship followed in due course, and in A.D. 88, as one of the *decemviri sacris faciundis*, he superintended the management of the secular games. The next year he left Rome, probably to assume some command in the provinces. It has been surmised that Germany was the scene of his labours, and that during this time he gained the information which he incorporated in the *Germania*. At the end of four years he returned to Rome. The reign of terror of Domitian was then at its height, and the position of Tacitus, as a senator, was consequently a most embarrassing one. He escaped with his life, though



passages of his writings testify to shame and regret at his share in the servile proceedings of the senate. A brighter time came with the accession of Nerva in A.D. 96, and in the succeeding year he attained the highest dignity, with one exception, which the state could offer him, and became the emperor's colleague in the consulship. In A.D. 100, in conjunction with Pliny the Younger, he successfully impeached Marius Priscus, who had been guilty of gross oppression during his government of Africa. This is the last public act recorded of him. Henceforth he appears to have lived in retirement, a devoted student of Roman history. The date of his death is as problematical as that of his birth; but he can hardly have survived for long Trajan, who died A.D. 117, and he may have ended his days some time previously.

§ 2. **His Works.**—The earliest of Tacitus' writings is the *Dialogus de Oratoribus*. The plan is similar to that pursued by Cicero in his philosophical works. Three distinguished orators of the day, Curiatius Maternus, Aper Secundus, and Vipstanus Messala, meet to discuss the comparative value of the great pleaders of the Republic and of the Empire. It is admitted that Cicero stands pre-eminent; but the oratory of later times is defended on the grounds that eloquence like that of Cicero can only be found amid confusion and anarchy, and that where order and good government prevail, oratory must of necessity bear a tamer character. His next work, the *Agricola*, must have appeared in A.D. 97 or A.D. 98. The hero of this unrivalled piece of biography is of course the famous warrior of the last decades of the first century, who, after extending the Roman dominions in Britain to their utmost limits (A.D. 78 to 85), returned to Rome only to be poisoned by the command of Domitian.—The *Germania*, written about A.D. 98, is a description of the physical characteristics of Germany, and of the military, social, and political condition of the tribes by which it was inhabited. Tacitus found much to praise in the purity of their social relations, the respect paid to the marriage tie, the kindly feeling which existed between master and slave: in such cases he draws the contrast of Roman manners

with no flattering hand. With this work ends what has been called the Sallustian or biographical period of Tacitus. His next effort, the *Histories*, deals with a greater subject—the history of Rome from the death of Nero to that of Domitian. It thus described thirty years of such anarchy, tyranny, and military violence as can have rarely disgraced the annals of any other nation. Of its fourteen books the greater number have disappeared; the first four and part of the fifth alone remain. To supplement this, he went farther back into the depths of antiquity, and wrote his masterpiece the *Annales*. Here he traces the destinies of Rome under the Claudian dynasty. Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, are all portrayed from the oligarchical point of view, and even their good deeds are often distorted, perhaps unconsciously, by the prejudices of the historian. The *Annals* once consisted of fourteen books, covering a period of fifty-four years (A.D. 14 to A.D. 68); but extensive gaps now occur, most of Book V. and the whole of Books VII. to X. being lost. The missing portions contained an account of two critical years of the reign of Tiberius (A.D. 29, 30), the whole of that of Caligula (A.D. 37 to 41), the first six years of Claudius (A.D. 41 to 47), and the last three of Nero (A.D. 65 to 68). This completes the list of works actually executed by Tacitus; his announced intention of being the historian of Augustus and of Nerva and Trajan being unfortunately never carried out.

§ 3. **His Authorities.**—As Tacitus is the greatest and almost sole authority for the history of the early Empire—for of the others, Velleius Paterculus was a vile flatterer, Suetonius a purveyor of scandalous gossip, and Dion Cassius too late in point of time to be an independent authority—it is important to see what sources of information were open to him. The Empire had acted as a deterrent on the production of history, but had not altogether crushed it; and Pliny wrote his general history, while Cluvius Rufus, Fabius Rusticus, Domitius Corbulo, and Vipstanus Messala narrated detached periods. To all of these Tacitus acknowledges his obligations. Whether he consulted Valerius Maximus, Velleius Paterculus, Seneca the

rhetor, and others, can scarcely be decided ; but although he does not mention them by name, he probably availed himself of their work. In addition to these there were *Memoirs* like those of Agrippina the Younger, not too flattering, as may be imagined, to the imperial house—funeral panegyrics of eminent men, and letters similar to those of the younger Pliny. Another mine of information might be found in the *Acta Senatus*, a record of the proceedings of the senate, and the *Acta Populi*, which related in the barest detail the current news, and described cases in the courts of law. Moreover, when we consider the date of Tacitus' birth, it is evident that he may have gleaned many facts by word of mouth. It is quite possible that he was acquainted with persons who had both seen and known Tiberius, the earliest of the emperors whose acts and policy he describes. For the motives of particular acts, and for the character of particular persons (*e.g.*, I. 9, 10), he is wont to refer to common talk as his authority ; but in epitomizing this his own bias may generally be seen. Not infrequently he gives varieties of fact or opinion (*e.g.*, Bk. I., chs. 29, 53, 76, 80).

#### § 4. The Roman State in A.D. 14.—(1) The Principate.

When Augustus died he left the imperial organization so firmly established that its main features were destined to exist without alteration for centuries. Theoretically the old republican constitution was still in force, and the **Emperor** was merely first among the citizens : in reality a combination of offices and powers rendered him supreme, and converted into a farce the part which senate and people took in the government. The *proconsulare imperium*, first bestowed on Augustus by the senate in B.C. 27, made him absolute master of the military forces throughout the empire. It rendered his commands binding, even over the governors of senatorial provinces ; it enabled him to conclude peace and to declare war ; to impose and collect taxes by means of his officers. It gave him, in short, for a period of ten years, afterwards prolonged, the power over the entire empire which a pro-consul in republican times had wielded over his province for a single year. The



*tribunicia potestas* gave him all the privileges and powers of a tribune without the rank, for which his patrician birth disqualified him. Just like the tribune of the republic, he was authorized to put his veto on any motion made in the senate, to protect condemned persons from the magistrates, and, if he so desired, to assemble the people and propose laws to the comitia. This latter privilege, however, was given him by his *potestas consularis*, which also enabled him to preside in the senate, and to initiate legislation therein—in short, to wield the legislative and administrative powers possessed by the consuls. His dignity of *princeps senatus* was of a different nature. It conferred no powers on him, and only made him the first of the senators, but it gave him the right of declaring his *sententia* first, and this would have great weight with a servile assembly (cf. I., ch. 74). The *ensoria potestas* invested him with the attributes of a censor without the title. He was thus able to enforce legislation on morals and manners, to eject unworthy members from the senatorial or equestrian orders when revising the census-lists, to exclude whomsoever he pleased from the jury-rolls. Lastly, as *pontifex maximus* the Emperor constituted himself the head of the state religion, with legal priority in all sacred matters, and with the control of the auspices, reform, and direction of religious worship. The combination of these authorities rendered him as supreme in judicial cases as he was in military, administrative, and religious matters; for the *imperium* conferred on him the power of life and death, his right of bringing matters before the senate and of speaking first enabled him to carry what verdict he pleased in a trial before the senate, the *ensoria potestas* gave him the control of the jury lists, and he could veto anything and everything by the *tribunicia potestas*. (See too *U. C. C. History of Augustus and Tiberius*, Chap. V.).

(2) **The Senate.**—It will be evident from this review of the emperor's position, that the power of the **Senate** had undergone a great diminution from republican times. Its military authority and its control of foreign relations were assumed by the Emperor, and it was always liable to be over-awed by the troops at the latter's disposal. The policy of

Augustus and his successors, with regard to the senate, was quite different from that of Julius Cæsar. Augustus treated the senate with invariable deference. He kept its numbers within due limits. He improved its status by ejecting men of scandalous lives, and by allowing those who were too poor to bear the expenses of their rank to withdraw. With it rested the formal choice of an emperor; it decreed the honours of a triumph, and its enactments on domestic matters were promulgated as of old. Augustus shared with it the government of the provinces, giving it jurisdiction over such as did not require the presence of an armed force, and consequently the exercise of *imperium*; and to these provinces men of consular and prætorian rank went out as governors on the choice of the senate. Tiberius even transferred to it from the *comitia* the election of magistrates. It is true that in his capacity of president he often drew up (*nominavit*) a list of candidates which contained no more names than there were vacancies, and so nullified their right of choice. (See Bk. I., chs. 14, 15, 81.)

(3) **The Ordo Equestris.**—The class next in dignity to the senators—the **Equites**—continued to flourish, although their opportunities of acting as *publicani*, farmers of taxes, had been curtailed by the establishment of imperial provinces, the revenues of which were managed by the emperor's agents (*procuratores fisci*). Augustus had created new ranks within their numbers, the wealthiest being entitled *equites splendidi*. Several important offices (*e.g.*, the four chief præfectures) were expressly reserved for Equites.

(4) **The People.**—Beneath the *equites* came the **Plebs**, which down to the end of Augustus' reign continued to meet in the *comitia* for the purpose of passing laws and electing magistrates. Even then the Emperor's privilege of *nominatio* and *commendatio* (I., ch. 15), left them little choice, and this was totally lost on the accession of Tiberius. They seem, however, to have lost all desire to govern. Provided that the state distributions of corn were on a sufficiently generous scale, and games were occasionally exhibited, they felt contented with the existing state of affairs. Their political programme was simple to state, if embarrassing to fulfil: it was *Panem et Circenses!*

(5) **The Magistrates.**—These continued in name, at least, as under the Republic, but the consulship, though still sought after, was curtailed in duration, until several pairs were elected in one year. Quaestors, praetors, and tribunes were treated with the same ceremony as of old. Their jurisdiction, however, was diminished by the creation of new officials, and of boards and commissions, until they almost sank to the level of the magistrates of the *coloniae* and *municipia*. A most important functionary, resuscitated by Augustus from the regal period, was the *praefectus urbis*, who was entrusted with the superintendence of the police within the city. He had the power of banishing disaffected persons from Rome, and his authority extended one hundred miles in every direction from the city walls. A board of commissioners was appointed to superintend the public buildings; others took charge of the roads, the aqueducts, the navigation of the Tiber, the distribution of corn, etc.

(6) **The Limits of the Empire.**—At the death of Augustus a “scientific frontier” had been secured for the empire. On the north and east it was bounded by the Rhine, Danube, and Euphrates; the west was rendered secure by the sea, and the south by the impassable African deserts. The wars of consolidation waged by Augustus had subdued all foes within this vast area, and perfect tranquillity prevailed. Across the frontier, however, powerful tribes cherished feelings of hostility to the Roman name. The German nations were still flushed with pride at the annihilation of Varus (A.D. 9), and the Parthians had not yet forgotten the day of Carrhae (B.C. 53).

(7) **The Provinces and their Defence.**—With a view to the security of the frontier, Augustus in B.C. 27 divided the **provinces** into imperial and senatorial; the former being provinces where a military force was necessary, the latter, wealthy and peaceful districts. (a) The **imperial** provinces were: in Spain, Hispania Tarraconensis and Lusitania; in Gaul, Aquitania, Gallia, Lugdunensis, Gallia Belgica, Germania Superior and Germania Inferior; Rhaetia and Noricum (among the Alps of Switzerland and Austria); Vindelicia (Bavaria, Baden, and Württemberg); Pannonia (West Austria); Dalmatia with Illyricum (Bosnia, Herzegovina,

Montenegro); Moesia (Servia and Bulgaria); in Asia, Syria with Cicilia and Judaea, Galatia, Pamphilia. Three ranks were recognised, the first (*e.g.* the Germanies) being governed by men of consular, the second (*e.g.* Belgica) by men of praetorian dignity, both with the title of *legati Augusti propraetore*, the third (*e.g.* Rhaetia) by a *procurator Augusti*.

(b) The **senatorial** provinces were Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, Hispania Baetica, Gallia Narbonensis, Macedonia, Achaia, Asia, Bithynia, Cyprus, Crete and Cyrenaica, Africa. Of these Asia and Africa, the most important, were governed by men of consular rank, the rest by ex-praetors, but both were styled proconsuls. To these senators of the requisite standing were appointed by lot: they were responsible to the senate only, not to the emperor. At the same time they were to some extent controlled in their administration by a *procurator fisci*, appointed by the Princeps. Egypt belonged to neither of these classes: its wealth and corn-producing capabilities caused Augustus to place it under an *eques* of moderate fortune, answerable to himself, and not likely to prove troublesome by reason of ambitious designs. The frontier provinces were guarded by twenty-five **legions** (twenty-eight in theory, but the legions lost with Varus were never reorganised), supplemented by the *vexillarii*, or veterans of the reserve, the *cohortes civium Romanorum*, Italian volunteers, and the contingents of the Allies. The loyalty of Rome was secured by the Praetorian cohorts and the *cohortes urbanae*, the latter under the orders of the *praefectus urbis*. Three **fleets** were maintained at Ravenna, Misenum, and Forum Julii, to guard the Hadriatic, the western coast, and the mouth of the Rhone respectively, and there were minor flotillas on the frontier rivers.

§ 5. **Summary of Annals I.**—The book commences with a rapid survey of Roman history from the times of the kings to the fall of the Republic (chap. 1). The career of Augustus is then sketched, and his views with regard to the succession (chap. 2-4). With the death of the Emperor at Nola, **A.D. 14**, Tacitus begins to relate events in detail. The scene



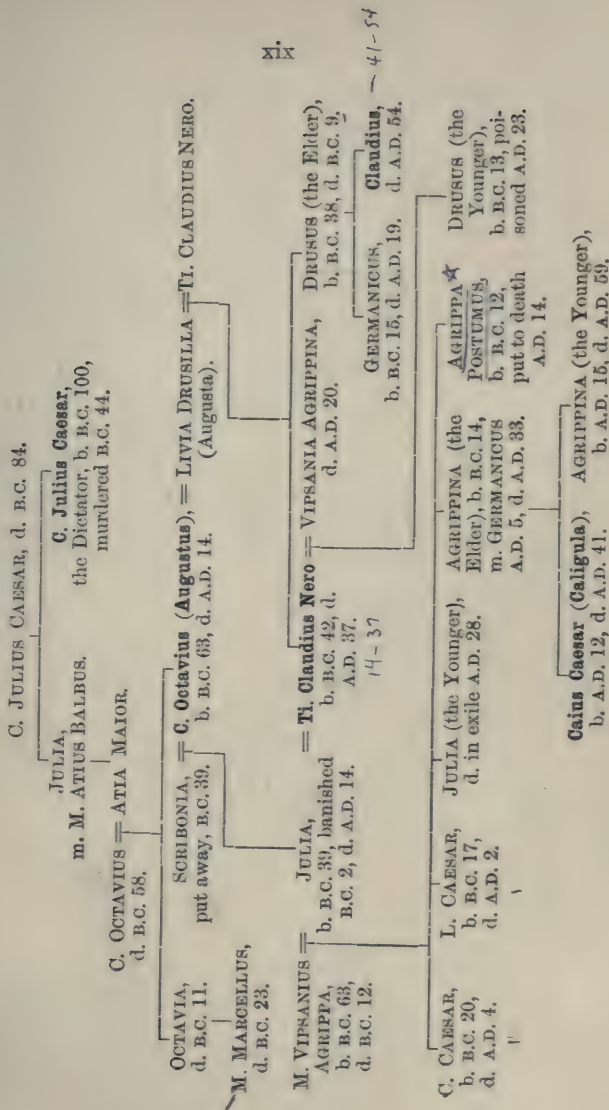
of chap. 5-15 is laid at Rome. The death of Agrippa Postumus, the plunging into slavery of consuls, senators, knights, and people, the general flattery of Tiberius, the honours paid to Augustus and Livia, the seeming unwillingness of Tiberius to accept the cares of empire, are related. Then, after mentioning the transference of the *comitia* to the senate and the institution of the *ludi Augustales*, the scene changes to Pannonia (chap. 16-30), where a formidable mutiny of the legions has broken out. The soldiers demand discharge and pension at the end of sixteen years' service. Blaesus, the commander, is unable to suppress the disturbance; military discipline breaks down utterly; centurions are maltreated, and one even killed. Tiberius despatches his son Drusus and his friend Seianus to restore order. They are unsuccessful until an eclipse of the moon works on the superstition of the soldiers, and they return to obedience. The ringleaders are given up to punishment, and Drusus returns to the capital. Meanwhile a similar outbreak has occurred among the legions stationed on the Rhine under the command of Germanicus (chap. 31-52). The causes are the same as with the Pannonian legions, and they make the same demands. Germanicus, though popular with the soldiers, and even invited by them to take up arms against Tiberius, is helpless in face of the rebellion. But when he is obliged to send away his wife Agrippina and his little son Caligula, the soldiers feel compunction, and show eagerness in punishing the offenders against discipline. An expedition against the Marsi is undertaken to efface the memory of the mutiny. Two parenthetic notes (chap. 53 and 54) mention the death of Julia and the institution of *sodales Augustales*.

Next year, **A.D. 15**, Germanicus again crosses the Rhine to attack the Cherusci. That people is divided into two parties, headed by Arminius and Segestes. Segestes, who counsels friendship with Rome, is worsted in the struggle, and takes refuge with Germanicus. The Romans penetrate to the Amisia; thence they march against the Cherusci. On their way they come on the unburied bones of Varus and his legions, and pay them the rites of interment. Caecina, the lieutenant of Germanicus, is attacked on his

return march by Arminius, but eventually defeats the enemy. Two other legions while marching back to the Visurgis along the coast are almost engulfed by the quick-sands; all, however, reach the Rhine in safety (chap. 55-71). The last chapters (72-81) deal with events at Rome. The law of treason is revived and extended; the licence of actors is repressed; the Emperor sits with the praetors in the courts of law; the Tiber overflows, and commits great havoc; the provinces of Achaia and Macedonia are transferred to the Emperor.

NOTE.—The text used in this edition is that of Dräger, to whom and to Nipperdey the editors are under deep obligations. Of the Introductions to Mr. Furneaux' larger edition extensive use has been made, and is thankfully acknowledged. The narrative of Tacitus in this book will be found compressed and supplemented from other sources in the seventh chapter of the *History of Augustus and Tiberius*, published in the Tutorial Series. The student is advised to read the two books side by side.

# Genealogical Table.



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# CORNELII TACITI

## ANNALIUM LIBER I.

I. **U**RBEM Romam a principio reges habuere. Libertatem et consulatum L. Brutus instituit. Dictaturae ad tempus sumebantur; neque decemviralis potestas ultra biennium neque tribunorum militum consulare ius diu valuit. Non Cinnae, non Sullae longa dominatio; et Pompei Crassique potentia cito in Caesarem, Lepidi atque Antonii arma in Augustum cessere, qui cuncta discordiis civilibus fessa nomine principis sub imperium accepit. Sed veteris populi Romani prospera vel adversa claris scriptoribus memorata sunt; temporibusque Augusti dicendis non defuere decora ingenia, donec gliscente adulatione deterrerentur. Tiberii Gaique et Claudii ac Neronis res, florentibus ipsis ob metum falsae, postquam occiderant, recentibus odiis compositae sunt. Inde consilium mihi pauca de Augusto et extrema tradere, mox Tiberii principatum et cetera, sine ira et studio, quorum causas procul habeo.

II. Postquam Bruto et Cassio caesis nulla iam publica arma, Pompeius apud Siciliam oppressus exutoque Lepido, interfecto Antonio ne Iulianis quidem partibus nisi Caesar dux reliquus, posito triumviri nomine consulem se ferens

et ad tuendam pleb<sup>protect</sup> tribunicio iure contentum, ubi militem donis, populum annona, cunctos dulcedine otii pellexit, insurgere paulatim, munia senatus magistratuum legum in se trahere, nullo adversante, cum terocissimi per acies aut proscriptione cecidissent, ceteri nobilium, quanto quis servitio promptior, opibus et honoribus extollerentur ac novis ex rebus aucti tuta et praesentia quam vetera et periculosa mallent. Neque provinciae illum rerum statum abnuebant, suspecto senatus populique imperio ob certamina potentium et avaritiam magistratuum, invalido legum auxilio, quae vi, ambitu, postremo pecunia turbabantur.

III. Ceterum Augustus subsidia dominationi Claudium Marcellum sororis filium admodum adulescentem pontificatu et curuli aedilitate, M. Agrippam ignobilem loco, bonum militia et victoriae socium, geminatis consulatibus extulit, mox defuncto Marcello generum sumpsit; Tiberium Neronem et Claudium Drusum privignos imperatoriis nominibus auxit, integra etiam tum domo sua. Nam genitos Agrippae Gaium ac Lucium in familiam Caesarum induxerat, necdum posita puerili praetexta principes iuventutis appellari, destinar<sup>TACT</sup>i consules specie recusantis flagrantissime cupiverat. Ut Agrippa vita concessit, Lucium Caesarem euntem ad Hispaniensis exercitus, Gaium remeantem Armenia et vulnere invalidum mors fato propera vel novercae Liviae dolus abstulit, Drusoque pridem extincto Nero solus e privignis erat, illuc cuncta vergere: filius, collega imperii, consors tribuniciae potestatis adsumitur omnisque per exercitus ostentatur, non obscuris, ut antea, matris artibus, sed palam hortatu. Nam senem Augustum devinxerat adeo, uti nepotem unicum, Agrippam Postumum, in insulam Planasiam proiecerit, rudem sane bonarum artium et robore corporis stolide ferocem, nullius tamen flagitii conpertum. At hercule Germanicum Druso ortum octo apud Rhenum legionibus inposuit adscirique per adoptionem a Tiberio

iussit, quamquam esset in domo. Tiberii filius iuvenis, sed quo pluribus munimentis insisteret. Bellum ea tempestate 25 nullum nisi adversus Germanos supererat, abolendae magis infamiae ob amissum cum Quintilio Varo exercitum quam cupidine proferendi imperii aut dignum ob praemium. Domi res tranquillae, eadem magistratum vocabula; iuniores post Actiacam victoriam, etiam senes plerique inter bella 30 civium nati: quotus quisque reliquus qui rem publicam vidisset?

IV. Igitur verso civitatis statu nihil usquam prisci et integri moris: omnes exuta aequalitate iussa principis aspectare, nulla in praesens formidine, dum Augustus aetate validus seque et domum et pacem sustentavit. Postquam provecta iam senectus aegro et corpore fatiga- 5 batur aderatque finis et spes novae, pauci bona libertatis in cassum disserere, plures bellum pavescere, alii cupere. Pars multo maxima imminentis dominos variis rumoribus differebant: trucem Agrippam et ignominia accensum non aetate neque rerum experientia tantae moli parem, Tiberium 10 Neronem maturum annis, spectatum bello, sed vetere atque insita Claudiae familiae superbia, multaque indicia saevitiae, quamquam premantur, erumpere. Hunc et prima ab infantia eductum in domo regnatrice, congestos iuveni consulatus, triumphos, ne iis quidem annis, quibus Rhodi 15 specie secessus exul egerit, aliud quid quam iram et simulationem et secretas lubricas meditatam. Accedere matrem muliebri in potentia: serviendum feminae duobusque insuper adolescentibus, qui rem publicam interim premant, quandoque distrahant.

V. Haec atque talia agitantibus gravescere valetudo Augusti, et quidam scelus uxoris suspectabant. Quippe rumor incesserat, paucos ante menses Augustum, electis consociis et comite uno Fabio Maximo, Planasiam vectum

- 5 ad visendum Agrippam; multas illic utrimque lacrimas et signa caritatis spemque ex eo fore ut iuvenis penatibus avi redderetur. Quod Maximum uxori Marciae aperuisse, illam Liviae. Gnarum id Caesari; neque multo post extincto Maximo, dubium an quaesita morte, auditos in funere eius  
 10 Marciae gemitus semet incusantis, quod causa exitii marito fuisset. Utcumque se ea res habuit, vixdum ingressus Illyricum Tiberius propriis matris litteris accitur; neque satis conpertum est, spirantem adhuc Augustum apud urbem Nola an exanimem reppererit. Acribus namque  
 15 custodiis domum et vias saepserat Livia, laetique interdum nuntii vulgabantur, donec provisus quae tempus monebat simul excessisse Augustum et rerum potiri Neronem fama eadem tulit.

- VI. Primum facinus novi principatus fuit Postumi Agrippae caedes, quem ignarum inermumque quamvis firmatus animo centurio aegre confecit. Nihil de ea re Tiberius apud senatum disseruit; patris iussa simulabat,  
 5 quibus praescripisset tribuno custodiae adposito, ne cunctaretur Agrippam morte adficere, quandoque supremum diem explevisset. Multa sine dubio saevaue Augustus de moribus adolescentis questus, ut exilium eius senatus consulto sanciretur perfecerat, ceterum in nullius unquam  
 10 suorum necem duravit, neque mortem nepoti pro securitate privigni inlatam credibile erat. Propius vero Tiberium ac Liviam, illum metu, hanc novercalibus odiis, suspecti et invisi iuvenis caedem festinavisse. Nuntianti centurioni, ut mos militiae, factum esse quod imperasset; neque imperasse  
 15 sese et rationem facti reddendam apud senatum respondit. Quod postquam Sallustius Crispus particeps secretorum (is ad tribunum miserat codicillos) comperit, metuens ne reus subderetur, iuxta periculoso ficta seu vera promeret, monuit Liviam ne arcana domus, ne consilia amicorum, ministeria



militum vulgarentur, neve Tiberius vim principatus re- 20  
solveret cuncta ad senatum vocando: eam condicionem  
esse imperandi, ut non aliter ratio constet quam si uni  
reddatur.

VII. At Romae ruere in servitium consules, patres,  
eques. Quanto quis inlustrior, tanto magis falsi ac festin-  
antes, vultuque composito, ne laeti excessu principis neu  
tristiores primordio, lacrimas gaudium, questus adulationem  
miscabant. Sex. Pompeius et Sex. Appuleius consules 5  
primi in verba Tiberii Caesaris iuravere, apudque eos Seius  
Strabo et C. Turranius, ille praetoriarum cohortium prae-  
fectus, hic annonae; mox senatus milesque et populus.  
Nam Tiberius cuncta per consules incipiebat, tamquam  
vetere re publica et ambiguus imperandi; ne edictum 10 —  
quidem, quo patres in curiam vocabat, nisi tribuniciae  
potestatis praescriptione posuit sub Augusto acceptae.  
Verba edicti fuere pauca et sensu permodesto: de honoribus  
parentis consulturum, neque abscedere a corpore idque  
unum ex publicis muneribus usurpare. Sed defuncto 15  
Augusto signum praetoriis cohortibus ut imperator de-  
derat: excubiae, arma, cetera aulae; miles in forum, miles  
in curiam comitabatur. Litteras ad exercitus tamquam  
adepto principatu misit, nusquam cunctabundus nisi cum  
in senatu loqueretur. Causa praecipua ex formidine, ne 20  
Germanicus, in cuius manu tot legiones, immensa sociorum  
auxilia, mirus apud populum favor, habere imperium quam  
expectare mallet. Dabat et famae, ut vocatus electusque  
potius a re publica videretur quam per uxorium ambitum  
et senili adoptione inrepsisse. Postea cognitum est ad 25  
introspectandas etiam procerum voluntates inductam, du-  
bitationem: nam verba vultus in crimen detorquens  
recondebatur.

VIII. Nihil primo senatus die agi passus nisi de supremis Augusti, cuius testamentum inlatum per virgines Vestae Tiberium et Liviam heredes habuit. Livia in familiam Iuliam nomenque Augustum adsumebatur; in spem secundam nepotes pronepotesque, tertio gradu primores civitatis scripserat, plerosque invisos sibi, sed iactantia gloriaque ad posteros. Legata non ultra civilem modum, nisi quod populo et plebi quadringentiens triciens quinquens, praetoriarum cohortium militibus singula nummum milia, . . . legionariis ac cohortibus civium Romanorum trecenos nummos viritim dedit. Tum consultatum de honoribus; ex quis qui maxime insignes visi, ut porta triumphali duceretur funus, Gallus Asinius, ut legum latarum tituli, victarum ab eo gentium vocabula anteferrentur, L. Arruntius censuere. Addebat Messalla Valerius renovandum per annos sacramentum in nomen Tiberii; interrogatusque a Tiberio num se mandante eam sententiam prompsisset, sponte dixisse respondit, neque in iis quae ad rem publicam pertinerent consilio nisi suo usurum, vel cum periculo offensionis: ea sola species adulandi supererat. Conclamant patres corpus ad rogam umeris senatorum ferendum. Remisit Caesar adroganti moderatione, populumque edicto monuit ne, ut quondam nimis studiis funus divi Iulii turbassent, ita Augustum in foro potius quam in campo Martis, sede destinata, cremari vellent. Die funeris milites velut praesidio stetere, multum inridentibus qui ipsi viderant quique a parentibus acceperant diem illum crudi adhuc servitii et libertatis inprospere repetitae, cum occisus dictator Caesar aliis pessimum, aliis pulcherrimum facinus videretur: nunc senem principem, longa potentia, provisum etiam heredum in rem publicam opibus, auxilio scilicet militari tuendum, ut sepultura eius quieta foret,

IX. Multus hinc ipso de Augusto sermo, plerisque vana mirantibus quod idem dies accepti quondam imperii princeps et vitae supremus, quod Nolae in domo et cubiculo in quo pater eius Octavius vitam finivisset. Numerus etiam consulatuum celebrabatur, quo Valerium Corvum et C. Marium 5 simul aequaverat, continuata per septem et triginta annos tribunicia potestas, nomen imperatoris semel atque viciens partum aliaque honorum multiplicata aut nova. At apud prudentes vita eius varie extollebatur arguebaturque. Hi pietate erga parentem et necessitudine rei publicae, in qua 10 nullus tunc legibus locus, ad arma civilia actum, quae neque parari possent neque haberi per bonas artes. Multa Antonio, dum interfectores patris ulcisceretur, multa Lepido concessisse. Postquam hic socordia senuerit, ille per libidines pessum datus sit, non aliud discordantis patriae remedium 15 fuisse quam ut ab uno regeretur. Non regno tamen neque dictatura, sed principis nomine constitutam rem publicam, mari Oceano aut omnibus longinquis saeptum imperium. Legiones, provincias, classes, euncta inter se conexa; ius apud cives, modestiam apud socios, urbem ipsam magnifico 20 ornatu; pauca admodum vi tractata, quo ceteris quies esset.

X. Dicebatur contra: pietatem erga parentem et tempora rei publicae obtentui sumpta, ceterum cupidine dominandi concitos per largitionem veteranos, paratum ab adolescente privato exercitum, corruptas consulis legiones, simulatam Pompeianarum gratiam partium. Mox ubi decreto patrum 5 fasces et ius praetoris invaserit, caesis Hirtio et Pansa, sive hostis illos, seu Pansam venenum vulneri adfusum, sui milites Hirtium et machinator doli Caesar abstulerat, utriusque copias occupavisse. Extortum invito senatu consulatum, armaque quae in Antonium acceperit, contra rem 10 publicam versa; proscriptionem civium, divisiones agrorum, ne ipsis quidem qui fecere laudatas. Sane Cassii et Brutorum

exitus paternis inimiciis datos, quamquam fas sit privata  
 odia publicis utilitatibus remittere, sed Pompeium imagine  
 15 pacis, sed Lepidum specie amicitiae deceptos; post An-  
 tonium, Tarentino Brundisinoque foedere et nuptiis sororis  
 inlectum, subdolae adfinitatis poenas morte exsolvisse.  
 Pacem sine dubio post haec, verum cruentam: Lollianas  
 Varianasque clades, interfectos Romae Varrones, Egnatios,  
 20 Iulos. Nec domesticis abstinebatur: abducta Neroni uxor  
 et consulti per ludibrium pontifices an concepto needum  
 edito partu rite nuberet; Q. Pedii et Vedii Pollionis luxus,  
 postremo Livia gravis in rem publicam mater, gravis domui  
 Caesarum noverca. Nihil deorum honoribus relictum, cum  
 25 se templis et effigie numinum per flamines et sacerdotes  
 coli vellet. Ne Tiberium quidem caritate aut rei publicae  
 cura successorem adscitum, sed quoniam adrogantiam  
 saevitiamque eius introspexerit, comparatione deterrima  
 sibi gloriam quaesivisse. Etenim Augustus paucis ante  
 30 annis, cum Tiberio tribuniciam potestatem a patribus  
 rursum postularet, quamquam honora oratione, quaedam  
 de habitu cultuque et institutis eius iecerat, quae velut  
 excusando exprobraret. Ceterum sepultura more perfecta  
 templum et caelestes religiones decernuntur.

XI. Versae inde ad Tiberium preces. Et ille varia  
 edisserebat de magnitudine imperii, sua modestia: solam  
 divi Augusti mentem tantae molis capacem; se in partem  
 curarum ab illo vocatum experiendo didicisse quam arduum,  
 5 quam subiectum fortunae regendi cuncta onus. Proinde  
 in civitate tot inlustribus viris subnixa non ad unum  
 omnia deferrent: plures facilius munia rei publicae sociatis  
 laboribus exsecuturos. Plus in oratione tali dignitatis quam  
 fidei erat, Tiberioque etiam in rebus quas non occuleret,  
 10 seu natura sive adsuetudine, suspensa semper et obscura  
 verba; tunc vero nitenti ut sensus suos penitus abderet, in  
 incertum et ambiguum magis implicabantur. At patres,



quibus unus metus si intellegere viderentur, in questus, lacrimas, vota effundi; ad deos, ad effigiem Augusti, ad genua ipsius manus tendere, cum proferri libellum recitarique iussit. Opes publicae continebantur, quantum civium sociorumque in armis, quot classes, regna, provinciae, tributa aut vectigalia, et necessitates et largitiones. Quae cuncta sua manu perscripserat Augustus addideratque consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii, incertum metu an per invidiam. 15 20

XII. Inter quae senatu ad infimas obtestationes procumbente, dixit forte Tiberius se ut non toti rei publicae parem, ita quaecumque pars sibi mandaretur, eius tutelam suscepturum. Tum Asinius Gallus "interrogo" inquit, "Caesar, quam partem rei publicae mandari tibi velis." 5 Percussus improvisa interrogatione paulum reticuit, dein collecto animo respondit nequaquam decorum pudori suo legere aliquid aut evitare ex eo, cui in universum excusari mallet. Rursum Gallus (etenim vultu offensionem coniectaverat) non idcirco interrogatum ait, ut divideret quae 10 separari nequirent, sed ut sua confessione argueretur, unum esse rei publicae corpus atque unius animo regendum. Addidit laudem de Augusto Tiberiumque ipsum victoriarum suarum quaeque in toga per tot annos egregie fecisset admonuit. Nec ideo iram eius lenivit, pridem invisus, 15 tanquam ducta in matrimonium Vipsania M. Agrippae filia, quae quondam Tiberii uxor fuerat, plus quam civilia agitare Pollionisque Asinii patris ferociam retineret.

XIII. Post quae L. Arruntius haud multum discrepans a Galli oratione perinde offendit, quamquam Tiberio nulla vetus in Arruntium ira, sed divitem, promptum, artibus egregiis et pari fama publice, suspectabat. Quippe Augustus supremis sermonibus cum tractaret, quinam adipisci principem locum suffecturi abnuerent aut inpares vellent vel 5

- idem possent cuperentque, M'. Lepidum dixerat capacem sed aspernantem, Gallum Asinium avidum et minorem, L. Arruntium non indignum et, si casus daretur, ausurum.
- 10 De prioribus consentitur, pro Arruntio quidam Cn. Pisonem tradidere; omnesque praeter Lepidum variis mox criminibus struente Tiberio circumventi sunt. Etiam Q. Haterius et Mamercus Scaurus suspicacem animum perstrinxere, Haterius cum dixisset "quousque patieris, Caesar, non
- 15 adesse caput rei publicae?" Scaurus quia dixerat, spem esse ex eo non inritas fore senatus preces, quod relationi consulum iure tribuniciae potestatis non intercessisset. In Haterium statim inVectus est; Scaurum, cui inplacabilis irasebatur, silentio tramisit. Fessusque clamore omnium,
- 20 expostulatione singulorum flexit paulatim, non ut fateretur suscipi a se imperium, sed ut negare et rogari desineret. Constat Haterium, cum deprecandi causa Palatium introisset ambulantisque Tiberii genua advolveretur, prope a militibus interfectum, quia Tiberius casu an manibus
- 25 eius inpeditus prociderat. Neque tamen periculo talis viri mitigatus est, donec Haterius Augustam oraret eiusque curatissimis precibus protegeretur.

XIV. Multa patrum et in Augustam adulatio. Alii parentem, alii matrem patriae appellandam, plerique ut nomini Caesaris adscriberetur "Iuliae filius" censebant. Ille moderandos feminarum honores dictitans eademque se tem-

5 perantia usurum in iis quae sibi tribuerentur, ceterum anxius invidia et muliebre fastigium in deminutionem sui accipiens, ne lictorem quidem ei decerni passus est aramque adoptionis et alia huiusce modi prohibuit. At Germanico Caesari proconsulare imperium petivit, missique legati qui

10 deferrent, simul maestitiam eius ob excessum Augusti solarentur. Quo minus idem pro Druso postularetur, ea causa quod designatus consul Drusus praesensque erat. Candidatos praeturae duodecim nominavit, numerum ab

Augusto traditum: et hortante senatu ut augeret, iure iurando obstrinxit se non excessurum.

XV. Tum primum e campo comitia ad patres translata sunt. Nam ad eam diem, etsi potissima arbitrio principis, quaedam tamen studiis tribuum fiebant. Neque populus ademptum ius questus est nisi inani rumore, et senatus largitionibus ac precibus sordidis exsolutus libens tenuit, 5 moderante Tiberio ne plures quam quattuor candidatos commendaret, sine repulsa et ambitu designandos. Inter quae tribuni plebei petivere ut proprio sumptu ederent ludos, qui de nomine Augusti fastis additi Augustales vocarentur. Sed decreta pecunia ex aerario, utque per 10 circum triumphali veste uterentur; curru vehi haud permissum. Mox celebratio annua ad praetorem translata, cui inter cives et peregrinos iurisdictio evenisset.

XVI. Hic rerum urbanarum status erat, cum Pannonicas legiones seditio incessit, nullis novis causis, nisi quod mutatus princeps licentiam turbarum et ex civili bello spem praemiorum ostendebat. Castris aestivis tres simul legiones habebantur, praesidente Iunio Blaeso, qui fine Augusti et 5 initiis Tiberii auditis ob institium aut gaudium intermiserat solita munia. Eo principio lascivire miles, discordare, pessimi cuiusque sermonibus praebere aures, denique luxum et otium cupere, disciplinam et laborem aspernari. Erat in castris Percennius quidam dux olim theatralium operarum, 10 dein gregarius miles, procax lingua et miscere coetus histrionali studio doctus. Is inperitos animos et quaenam post Augustum militiae condicio ambigentis impellere paulatim nocturnis conloquiis aut flexo in vesperam die et dilapsis melioribus deterimum quemque congregare.

XVII. Postremo promptis iam et aliis seditionis ministris velut contionabundus interrogabat, cur paucis centurionibus, paucioribus tribunis in modum servorum oboedirent. Quando

ausuros exposcere remedia, nisi novum et nutantem adhuc  
 5 principem precibus vel armis adirent? Satis per tot annos  
 ignavia peccatum, quod tricena aut quadragena stipendia  
 senes et plerique truncato ex vulneribus corpore tolerant.  
 Ne dimissis quidem finem esse militiae, sed apud vexillum  
 tendentes alio vocabulo eosdem labores perferre. Ac si  
 10 quis tot casus vita superaverit, trahi adhuc diversas in  
 terras, ubi per nomen agrorum uligines paludum vel inculta  
 montium accipiant. Enimvero militiam ipsam gravem,  
 infructuosam: denis in diem assibus animam et corpus  
 aestimari. Hinc vestem arma tentoria, hinc saevitiam  
 15 centurionum et vacationes munerum redimi. At hercule ver-  
 bera et vulnera, duram hiemem, exercitas aestates, bellum  
 atrox aut sterilem pacem sempiterna. Nec aliud leva-  
 mentum quam si certis sub legibus militia iniretur, ut  
 singulos denarios mererent, sextus decumus stipendii annus  
 20 finem adferret, ne ultra sub vexillis tenerentur, sed isdem  
 in castris praemium pecunia solveretur. An praetorias  
 cohortes, quae binos denarios acceperint, quae post sedecim  
 annos penatibus suis reddantur, plus periculorum suscipere?  
 non obtrectari a se urbanas excubias, sibi tamen apud  
 horridas gentes e contuberniis hostem aspici.

XVIII. Adstrepebat vulgus, diversis incitamentis, hi  
 verberum notas, illi canitiem, plurimi detrita tegmina et  
 nudum corpus exprobrantes. Postremo eo furoris venere,  
 ut tres legiones miscere in unam agitaverint. Depulsi  
 5 aemulatione, quia suae quisque legioni eum honorem quaere-  
 bant, alio vertunt atque una tres aquilas et signa cohortium  
 locant; simul congerunt caespites, extruunt tribunal, quo  
 magis conspicua sedes foret. Properantibus Blaesus advenit  
 increpabatque ac retinebat singulos, clamitans "mea potius  
 10 caede imbuite manus: levioze flagitio legatum interficietis  
 quam ab imperatore desciscitis. Aut incolumis fidem  
 legionum retinebo aut iugulatus paenitentiam adcelerabo."



XIX. Aggerabatur nihilo minus caespes iamque pectori usque adcreverat, cum tandem pervicacia victi inceptum omisere. Blaesus multa dicendi arte non per seditionem et turbas desideria militum ad Caesarem ferenda ait neque veteres ab imperatoribus priscis neque ipsos a divo Augusto 5 tam nova petivisse; et parum in tempore incipientes principis curas onerari. Si tamen tenderent in pace temptare quae ne civilium quidem bellorum victores expostulaverint, cur contra morem obsequii, contra fas disciplinae vim meditentur? Decernerent legatos seque coram mandata 10 darent. Adclamavere ut filius Blaesi tribunus legatione ea fungeretur peteretque militibus missionem ab sedecim annis; cetera mandatuos, ubi prima provenissent. Profecto iuvene modicum otium; sed superbire miles, quod filius legati orator publicae causae satis ostenderet necessitate 15 expressa quae per modestiam non obtinuissent.

XX. Interea manipuli ante coeptam seditionem Nauportum missi ob itinera et pontes et alios usus, postquam turbatum in castris acceperere, vexilla convellunt direptisque proximis vicis ipsoque Nauporto, quod municipii instar erat, retinentis centuriones inrisu et contumeliis, postremo verberibus insectantur, praecipua in Aufidienum Rufum prae- 5 fectum castrorum ira, quem dereptum vehiculo sarcinis gravant aguntque primo in agmine, per ludibrium rogitantes an tam immensa onera, tam longa itinera libenter ferret. Quippe Rufus diu manipularis, dein centurio, mox castris 10 praefectus, antiquam duramque militiam revocabat, vetus operis ac laboris et eo inimitior, quia toleraverat.

XXI. Horum adventu redintegratur seditio, et vagi circumiecta populabantur. Blaesus paucos, maxime praeda onustos, ad terrorem ceterorum adfici verberibus, claudi carcere iubet: nam etiam tum legato a centurionibus et

5 optimo quoque manipularium parebatur. Illi obniti trahentibus, prensare circumstantium genua, ciere modo nomina singulorum, modo centuriam quisque cuius manipularis erat, cohortem, legionem, eadem omnibus imminere clamitantes. Simul probra in legatum cumulant, caelum  
 ✓ 10 ac deos obtestantur, nihil reliqui faciunt quo minus invidiam misericordiam metum et iras permoverent. Adcurritur ab universis et carcere effracto solvunt vincula desertoresque ac rerum capitalium damnatos sibi iam miscent.

XXII. Flagrantior inde vis, plures seditioni duces. Et Vibulenus quidam gregarius miles, ante tribunal Blaesi allevatus circumstantium umeris, apud turbatos et quid pararet intentos "vos quidem" inquit "his innocentibus et  
 5 miserrimis lucem et spiritum reddidistis; sed quis fratri meo vitam, quis fratrem mihi reddit? Quem missum ad vos a Germanico exercitu de communibus commodis nocte proxima iugulavit per gladiatores suos, quos in exitium militum habet atque armat. Responde, Blaese, ubi cadaver  
 10 abieceris; ne hostes quidem sepultura invident. Cum osculis, cum lacrimis dolorem meum implevero, me quoque trucidari iube, dum interfectos nullum ob scelus, sed quia utilitati legionum consulebamus, hi sepeliant."

XXIII. Incendebat haec flētū et pectus atque os manibus verberans. Mox disiectis quorum per umeros sustinebatur, praeceps et singulorum pedibus advolutus tantum consternationis invidiaeque concivit, ut pars militum gladiatores  
 5 qui e servitio Blaesi erant, pars ceteram eiusdem familiam vincirent, alii ad quaerendum corpus effunderentur. Ac ni propere neque corpus ullum reperiri et servos adhibitis cruciatibus abnuere caedem neque illi fuisse umquam fratrem pernotuisset, haud multum ab exitio legati aberant.  
 10 Tribunos tamen ac praefectum castrorum extrudere, sarcinae fugientium direptae, et centurio Lucilius interficitur, cui

militaribus facetiis vocabulum "cedo alteram" indiderant, quia fracta vite in tergo militis alteram clara voce ac rursus aliam poscebat. Ceteros latebrae texere, uno retento Clemente Iulio, qui perferendis militum mandatis habebatur 15 idoneus ob promptum ingenium. Quin ipsae inter se legiones octava et quinta decuma ferrum parabant, dum centurionem cognomento Sirpicum illa morti deposcit, quintadecumani tumentur, nisi miles nonanus preces et adversum aspernantis minas interiecisset.

XXIV. Haec audita quamquam abstrusum et tristissima quaeque maxime occultantem Tiberium perpulere ut Drusum filium cum primoribus civitatis duabusque praetoriis cohortibus mitteret, nullis satis certis mandatis, ex re consulturum. Et cohortes delecto milite supra solitum firmatae. / Additur 5 magna pars praetoriani equitis et robora Germanorum, qui tum custodes imperatori aderant; simul praetorii praefectus Aelius Seianus, collega Straboni patri suo datus, magna apud Tiberium auctoritate, rector iuveni et ceteris periculorum praemiorumque ostentator. Druso propinqui 10 quasi per officium obviae fuere legiones, non laetae, ut adsolet, neque insignibus fulgentes, sed inlucie deformi et vultu, quamquam maestitiam imitarentur, contumaciae propiores.

XXV. Postquam vallum introit, portas stationibus firmant, globos armatorum certis castrorum locis opperiri iubent, ceteri tribunal ingenti agmine circumveniunt. Stabat Drusus silentium manu poscens. Illiquotiens oculos ad multitudinem rettulerant, vocibus truculentis strepere, 5 rursum viso Caesare trepidare. Murmur incertum, atrox clamor et repente quies; diversis animorum motibus pavebant terrebantque. Tandem interrupto tumultu litteras patris recitat, in quis perscriptum erat, praecipuam ipsi fortissimarum legionum curam, quibuscum plurima bella 10

toleravisset : ubi primum a luctu requiesset animus, acturum apud patres de postulatis eorum. Misisse interim filium, ut sine cunctatione concederet quae statim tribui possent; cetera senatui servanda, quem neque gratiae neque severitatis expertem haberi par esset.

✓ XXVI. Responsum est a contione, mandata Clementi centurioni quae perferret. Is orditur de missione a sedecim annis, de praemiis finitae militiae, ut denarius diurnum stipendium foret, ne veterani sub vexillo haberentur. Ad ea Drusus  
5 cum arbitrium senatus et patris obtenderet, clamore turbatur. Cur venisset neque augendis militum stipendiis neque allevandis laboribus, denique nulla bene faciendi licentia? At hercule verbera et necem cunctis permitti. Tiberium olim nomine Augusti desideria legionum frustrari solitum;  
10 easdem artes Drusum retulisse. Numquamne ad se nisi filios familiarum venturos? Novum id plane quod imperator sola militis commoda ad senatum reiciat. Eundem ergo senatum consulendum, quotiens supplicia aut proelia indicantur : an praemia sub dominis, poenas sine arbitro esse?

XXVII. Postremo deserunt tribunal, ut quis praetorianorum militum amicorumve Caesaris occurreret, manus intentantes, causam discordiae et initium armorum, maxime infensi Cn. Lentulo, quod is ante alios aetate et gloria belli  
5 firmare Drusum credebatur et illa militiae flagitia primus aspernari. Nec multo post digredientem cum Caesare ac provisu periculi hiberna castra repetentem circumsistunt, rogitantes quo pergeret, ad imperatorem an ad patres, ut illic quoque commodis legionum adversaretur; simul in-  
10 gruunt, saxa iaciunt. Iamque lapidis ictu cruentus et exitii certus adcurso multitudinis, quae cum Druso advenerat, protectus est.



XXVIII. Noctem minacem et in scelus erupturam fors lenivit: nam luna claro repente caelo visa languescere. Id miles rationis ignarus omen praesentium accepit, suis laboribus defectionem sideris adsimulans, prospereque cessura quae pararent, si fulgor et claritudo deae redderetur. Igitur 5 aeris sono, tubarum cornuumque concentu strepere; prout splendor obscuriorve, laetari aut maerere, et postquam ortae nubes officere visui creditumque conditam tenebris, ut sunt mobiles ad superstitionem percussae semel mentes, sibi aeternum laborem portendi, sua facinora aversari deos 10 lamentantur. Utendum inclinatione ea Caesar et quae casus obtulerat in sapientiam vertenda ratus circumiri tentoria iubet; accitur centurio Clemens et si alii bonis artibus grati in vulgus. Hi vigiliis, stationibus, custodiis portarum se inserunt, spem offerunt, metum intendunt. "Quousque 15 filium imperatoris obsidebimus? Quis certaminum finis? Percennione et Vibuleno sacramentum dicturi sumus? Percennius et Vibulenus stipendia militibus, agros emeritis largientur? Denique pro Neronibus et Drusis imperium populi Romani capessent? Quin potius, ut novissimi in 20 culpam, ita primi ad paenitentiam sumus? Tarda sunt quae in commune expostulantur: privatam gratiam statim mereare, statim recipias." Commotis per haec mentibus et inter se suspectis, tironem a veterano, legionem a legione dissociant. Tum redire paulatim amor obsequii; omittunt 25 portas, signa unum in locum principio seditionis congregata suas in sedes referunt.

XXIX. Drusus orto die et vocata contione, quamquam rudis dicendi, nobilitate ingenita incusat priora, probat praesentia; negat se terrore et minis vinci: flexos ad modestiam si videat, si supplices audiat, scripturum patri ut placatus legionum preces exciperet. Orantibus rursum 5 idem Blaesus et L. Apronius, eques Romanus e cohorte

Drusi, Iustusque Catonius, primi ordinis centurio, ad Tiberium mittuntur. Certatum inde sententiis, cum alii opperiendos legatos atque interim comitate permulcendum  
 10 militem censerent, alii fortioribus remediis agendum; nihil in vulgo modicum: terrere, ni paveant; ubi pertimuerint, inpune contemni. Dum superstitio urgeat, adiciendos ex duce metus sublatis seditionis auctoribus. Promptum ad asperiora ingenium Druso erat: vocatos Vibulenum et  
 15 Percennium interfici iubet. Tradunt plerique intra tabernaculum ducis obrutos, alii corpora extra vallum abiecta ostentui.

XXX. Tum, ut quisque praecipuus turbator, conquisiti, et pars, extra castra palantes, a centurionibus aut praetoriarum cohortium militibus caesi; quosdam ipsi manipuli documentum fidei tradidere. Auxerat militum curas praematura  
 5 hiems imbribus continuis adeoque saevis, ut non egredi tentoria, congregari inter se, vix tutari signa possent, quae turbine atque unda raptabantur. Durabat et formido caelestis irae, nec frustra adversus impios hebeschere sidera, ruere tempestates: non aliud malorum levamentum quam  
 10 si linquerent castra infausta temerataque et soluti piaculo suis quisque hibernis redderentur. Primum octava, dein quinta decuma legio rediere: nonanus opperiendas Tiberii epistulas clamitaverat, mox desolatus aliorum discessione imminentem necessitatem sponte praevenit. Et Drusus  
 15 non exspectato legatorum regressu, quia praesentia satis considerant, in urbem rediit.

XXXI. Isdem ferme diebus isdem causis Germanicae legiones turbatae, quanto plures, tanto violentius et magna spe fore ut Germanicus Caesar imperium alterius pati nequiret daretque se legionibus vi sua cuncta tracturis.  
 5 Duo apud ripam Rheni exercitus erant; cui nomen superiori,

sub C. Silio legato, inferiorem A. Caecina curabat. Regimen summae rei penes Germanicum, agendo Galliarum censui tum intentum. Sed quibus Silius moderabatur, mente ambigua fortunam seditionis alienae speculabantur: inferioris exercitus miles in rabiem prolapsus est, orto ab unetvicen- 10 simanis quintanisque initio, et tractis prima quoque ac vicensima legionibus. Nam isdem aestivis in finibus Ubiorum habebantur per otium aut levia munia. Igitur audito fine Augusti vernacula multitudo nuper acto in urbe dilectu, lasciviae sueta, laborum intolerans, implere ceterorum rudes 15 animos: venisse tempus quo veterani maturam missionem, iuvenes largiora stipendia, cuncti modum miseriarum exposcerent saevitiamque centurionum ulciscerentur. Non unus haec, ut Pannonicas inter legiones Percennius, nec apud trepidas militum aures, alios validiores exercitus 20 respicientium, sed multa seditionis ora vocesque: sua in manu sitam rem Romanam, suis victoriis augeri rem publicam, in suum cognomentum adscisci imperatores.

XXXII. Nec legatus obviam ibat; quippe plurium vaecordia constantiam exemerat. Repente lymphati destrictis gladiis in centuriones invadunt: ea vetustissima militaribus odiis materies et saevienti principium. Prostratos verberibus mulcant, sexageni singulos, ut numerum centurionum adae- 5 quarent, tum convulsos laniatosque et partim exanimos ante vallum aut in amnem Rhenum prociunt. Septimius cum perfugisset ad tribunal pedibusque Caecinae advolveretur, eo usque flagitatus est, donec ad exitium dederetur. Cassius Chaerea, mox caede Gai Caesaris memoriam, apud 10 posteros adeptus, tum adulescens et animi ferox, inter obstantes et armatos ferro viam patefecit. Non tribunus ultra, non castrorum praefectus ius obtinuit: vigilias, stationes, et si qua alia praesens usus indixerat, ipsi partiebantur. Id militares animos altius coniectantibus praecipuum 15 indicium magni atque inplacabilis motus, quod neque

disiecti nec paucorum instinctu, sed pariter ardescerent, pariter silerent, tanta aequalitate et constantia, ut regi crederes.

XXXIII. Interea Germanico per Gallias, ut diximus, census accipienti excessisse Augustum adfertur. Neptem eius Agrippinam in matrimonio pluresque ex ea liberos habebat, ipse Druso fratre Tiberii genitus, Augustae nepos, sed anxius occultis in se patruī aviaequē odiis, quorum  
5 causae acriores, quia iniquae. Quippe Drusi magna apud populum Romanum memoria, credebaturque, si rerum potitus foret, libertatem redditurus; unde in Germanicum favor et spes eadem. Nam iuveni civile ingenium, mira  
10 comitas et diversa ab Tiberii sermone vultu, adrogantibus et obscuris. Accedebant muliebres offensiones novercalibus Liviae in Agrippinam stimulis, atque ipsa Agrippina paulo commotior, nisi quod castitate et mariti amore quamvis indomitum animum in bonum vertebat.

XXXIV. Sed Germanicus quanto summae spei propior, tanto impensius pro Tiberio niti, seque et proximos, et Belgarum civitates in verba eius adigit. Dehinc audito legionum tumultu raptim profectus obvias extra castra  
5 habuit, deiectis in terram oculis velut paenitentia. Postquam vallum iniit, dissoni questus audiri coepere. Et quidam prensa manu eius per speciem exosculandi inseruerunt digitos, ut vacua dentibus ora contingeret; alii curvata senio membra ostendebant. Adsistentem contionem,  
10 quia permixta videbatur, discedere in manipulos iubet; sic melius audituro responsum; vexilla praeferri, ut id saltem discerneret cohortes: tarde obtemperavere. Tunc a veneratione Augusti orsus flexit ad victorias triumphosque Tiberii, praecipuis laudibus celebrans quae apud Germanias illis  
15 cum legionibus pulcherrima fecisset. Italiae inde consensum,



Galliarum fidem extollit; nil usquam turbidum aut discors. Silentio haec vel murmure modico audita sunt.

XXXV. Ut seditionem attigit, ubi modestia militaris, ubi veteris disciplinae decus, quonam tribunos, quo centuriones exegissent, rogitans, nudant universi corpora, cicatrices ex vulneribus, verberum notas exprobrant; mox indiscretis vocibus pretia vacationum, angustias stipendii, 5 duritiam operum ac propriis nominibus incusant vallum, fossas, pabuli materiae lignorum adgestus, et si qua alia ex necessitate aut adversus otium castrorum quaeruntur. Atrocissimus veteranorum clamor oriebatyr, qui tricena aut supra stipendia numerantes, mederetur fessis neu mortem 10 in isdem laboribus, sed finem tam exercitae militiae neque inopem requiem orabant. Fuere etiam qui legatam a divo Augusto pecuniam reposcerent, faustis in Germanicum ominibus; et si vellet imperium promptos ostentavere. Tum vero, quasi scelere contaminaretur, praeceps tribunali 15 desiluit. Opposuerunt abeunti arma, minitantes, ni regrederetur; at ille moriturum potius quam fidem exueret clamitans, ferrum a latere diripuit elatumque deferebat in pectus, ni proximi prensam dextram vi attinuissent. Extrema et conglobata inter se pars contionis ac, vix credibile 20 dictu, quidam singuli propius incedentes, feriret hortabantur; et miles nomine Calusidius strictum obtulit gladium, addito acutiorem esse. Saevum id malique moris etiam furentibus visum, ac spatium fuit quo Caesar ab amicis in tabernaculum raperetur.

XXXVI. Consultatum ibi de remedio; etenim nuntiabatur parari legatos qui superiorem exercitum ad causam eandem traherent: destinatum excidio Ubiorum oppidum, imbutasque praeda manus in direptionem Galliarum erupturas. Augebat metum gnarus Romanae seditionis et, si 5 omitteretur ripa, invasurus hostis: at si auxilia et socii

adversum abscedentis legiones armarentur, civile bellum suscipi. Periculosa severitas, flagitiosa largitio: seu nihil militi sive omnia concedentur, in ancipiti res publica.  
10 Igitur voluntatis inter se rationibus placitum ut epistulae nomine principis scriberentur: missionem dari vicena stipendia meritis, exauctorari qui sena dena fecissent ac retineri sub vexillo ceterorum immunes nisi propulsandi hostis, legata quae petiverant exsolvi duplicarique.

XXXVII. Sensit miles in tempus conficta statimque flagitavit. Missio per tribunos maturatur, largitio differebatur in hiberna cuiusque. Non abscessere quintani unetvicen-  
5 amicorum ipsiusque Caesaris pecunia persolveretur. Primam ac vicensimam legiones Caecina legatus in civitatem Ubiorum reduxit, turpi agmine, cum fisci de imperatore rapti inter signa interque aquilas veherentur. Germanicus superiorem ad exercitum profectus secundam et tertiam decumam et  
10 sextam decumam legiones nihil cunctatas sacramento adigit. Quartadecumani paulum dubitaverant: pecunia et missio quamvis non flagitantibus oblata est.

XXXVIII. At in Chaucis coeptavere seditionem praesidium agitantes vexillarii discordium legionum et praesenti duorum militum supplicio paulum repressi sunt. Iusserat id M'. Ennius castrorum praefectus, bono magis exemplo  
5 quam concesso iure. Deinde intumesciente motu profugus repertusque, postquam intutae latebrae, praesidium ab audacia mutuatur: non praefectum ab iis, sed Germanicum ducem, sed Tiberium imperatorem violari. Simul exterritis qui obstiterant, raptum vexillum ad ripam vertit, et si  
10 quis agmine decessisset, pro desertore fore clamitans, reduxit in hiberna turbidos et nihil ausos.

XXXIX. Interea legati ab senatu regressum iam apud  
aram Ubiorum Germanicum adeunt. Duae ibi legiones,  
prima atque vicensima, veteranique nuper missi sub vexillo  
hiemabant. Pavidos et conscientia vaecordes intrat metus,  
venisse patrum iussu qui inrita facerent quae per seditionem 5  
expresserant. Utque mos vulgo quamvis falsis reum sub-  
dere, Munatium Plancum consulatu functum, principem  
legationis, auctorem senatus consulti incusant; et nocte con-  
cubina vexillum in domo Germanici situm flagitare occipiunt,  
concursuque ad ianuam facto moliuntur fores, extractum 10  
cubili Caesarem tradere vexillum intento mortis metu  
subigunt. Mox vagi per vias obvios habuere legatos, audita  
consternatione ad Germanicum tendentes. Ingerunt con-  
tumelias, caedem parant, Planco maxime, quem dignitas  
fuga impediverat; neque aliud periclitanti subsidium quam 15  
castra primae legionis. Illic signa et aquilam amplexus  
religione sese tutabatur, ac ni aquilifer Calpurnius vim  
extremam arcuisset, rarum etiam inter hostes, legatus  
populi Romani Romanis in castris sanguine suo altaria  
deum commaculavisset. Luce demum, postquam dux et 20  
miles et facta noscebantur, ingressus castra Germanicus  
perduci ad se Plancum imperat recepitque in tribunal.  
Tum fatalem increpans rabiem, neque militum sed deum  
ira resurgere, cur venerint legati aperit; ius legationis  
atque ipsius Planci gravem et inmeritum casum, simul 25  
quantum dedecoris adierit legio, facunde miseratur, at-  
tonitaque magis quam quieta contione legatos praesidio  
auxiliarium equitum dimittit.

XL. Eo in metu arguere Germanicum omnes, quod non  
ad superiorem exercitum pergeret, ubi obsequia et contra  
rebellis auxilium: satis superque missione et pecunia et  
mollibus consultis peccatum. Vel si vilis ipsi salus, cur  
filium parvulum, cur gravidam coniugem inter furentis et 5

omnis humani iuris violatores haberet? Illos saltem avo et rei publicae redderet. Diu cunctatus aspernantem uxorem, cum se divo Augusto ortam neque degenerem ad pericula testaretur, postremo uterum eius et communem  
10 filium multo cum fletu complexus, ut abiret perpulit. Incedebat muliebre et miserabile agmen, profuga ducis uxor, parvulum sinu filium gerens, lamentantes circum amicorum coniuges, quae simul trahebantur, nec minus tristes qui manebant.

XLI. Non florentis Caesaris neque suis in castris, sed velut in urbe victa facies gemitusque ac planctus etiam militum aures oraque advertere : progrediuntur contuberniis. Quis ille flebilis sonus? quod tam triste? feminas inlustris, non  
5 centurionem ad tutelam, non militem, nihil imperatoriae uxoris aut comitatus soliti: pergere ad Treveros externae fidei. Pudor inde et miseratio et patris Agrippae, Augusti avi memoria, socer Drusus, ipsa insigni fecunditate, praeclara pudicitia; iam infans in castris genitus, in contubernio  
10 legionum eductus, quem militari vocabulo Caligulam appellabant, quia plerumque ad concilianda vulgi studia eo tegmine pedum induebatur. Sed nihil aequae flexit quam invidia in Treveros: orant obsistunt, rediret maneret, pars Agrippinae occursantes, plurimi ad Germanicum regressi.  
15 Isque ut erat recens dolore et ira, apud circumfusus ita coepit.

XLII. "Non mihi uxor aut filius patre et re publica cariores sunt, sed illum quidem sua maiestas, imperium Romanum ceteri exercitus defendent. Coniugem et liberos meos, quos pro gloria vestra libens ad exitium offerrem,  
5 nunc procul a furentibus summoveo, ut quidquid istud sceleris inminet, meo tantum sanguine pietur, neve occisus Augusti pronepos, interfecta Tiberii nurus nocentiores vos faciat. Quid enim per hos dies inausum intemeratumve



vobis? Quod nomen huic coetui dabo? Militesne appellem, qui filium imperatoris vestri vallo et armis circumседистis : 10 an civis, quibus tam proiecta senatus auctoritas? Hostium quoque ius et sacra legationis et fas gentium rupistis. Divus Iulius seditionem exercitus verbo uno compescuit Quirites vocando qui sacramentum eius detractabant. Divus Augustus vultu et aspectu Actiacas legiones exterruit : nos 15 ut nondum eosdem, ita ex illis ortos si Hispaniae Suriaeve miles aspernaretur, tamen mirum et indignum erat. Primane et vicensima legiones, illa signis a Tiberio acceptis, tu tot proeliorum socia, tot praemiis aucta, egregiam duci vestro gratiam refertis? Hunc ego nuntium patri laeta omnia 20 aliis e provinciis audienti, feram? Ipsius tirones, ipsius veteranos non missione, non pecunia satiatos; hic tantum interfici centuriones, eici tribunos, includi legatos, infecta sanguine castra flumina, meque precariam animam inter infensos trahere.

XLIII. "Cur enim primo contionis die ferrum illud, quod pectori meo infigere parabam, detraxistis, o improvidi amici? Melius et amantius ille qui gladium offerebat. Cecidissem certe nondum tot flagitiorum exercitui meo conscius; legis- 5 setis ducem, qui meam quidem mortem impunitam sineret, Vari tamen et trium legionum ulcisceretur. Neque enim di sinant ut Belgarum quamquam offerentium decus istud et claritudo sit, subvenisse Romano nomini, compressisse Germaniae populos. Tua, dive Auguste, caelo recepta mens, tua, pater Druse, imago, tui memoria isdem istis cum mili- 10 tibus, quos iam pudor et gloria intrat, eluant hanc maculam irasque civiles in exitium hostibus vertant. Vos quoque, quorum alia nunc ora, alia pectora contueor, si legatos senatui, obsequium imperatori, si mihi coniugem et filium redditis, discedite a contactu ac dividite turbidos: id stabile 15 ad paenitentiam, id fidei vinculum erit."

XLIV. Supplices ad haec et vera exprobrari fatentes orabant puniret noxios, ignosceret lapsis et duceret in hostem; revocaretur coniunx, rediret legionum alumnus neve obses Gallis traderetur. Reditum Agrippinae excu-  
5 savit ob inminentem partum et hiemem; venturum filium: cetera ipsi exsequerentur. Discurrunt mutati et seditiosissimum quemque vinctos trahunt ad legatum legionis primae C. Caetronium, qui iudicium et poenas de singulis in hunc modum exercuit. Stabant pro contione legiones destitutis  
10 gladiis; reus in suggestu per tribunum ostendebatur: si nocentem adclamaverant, praeceps datus trucidabatur. Et gaudebat caedibus miles, tamquam semet absolveret; nec Caesar arcebat, quando nullo ipsius iussu penes eosdem saevitia facti et invidia erat. Secuti exemplum veterani  
15 haud multo post in Raetiam mittuntur, specie defendendae provinciae ob inminentis Suebos, ceterum ut avellerentur castris trucibus adhuc non minus asperitate remedii quam sceleris memoria. Centurionatum inde egit. Citatus ab  
imperatore nomen, ordinem, patriam, numerum stipendio-  
20 rum, quae strenue in proeliis fecisset, et cui erant dona militaria, edebat. Si tribuni, si legio industriam innocentiamque adprobaverant, retinebat ordinem: ubi avaritiam aut crudelitatem consensu obiectavissent, solvebatur militia.

XLV. Sic compositis praesentibus haud minor moles supererat ob ferociam quintae et unetvicensimae legionum, sexagensimum apud lapidem (loco Vetera nomen est) hibernantium. Nam primi seditionem coeptaverant, atrocissimum  
5 quodque facinus horum manibus patratum; nec poena commilitonum exterriti nec paenitentia conversi iras retinebant. Igitur Caesar arma classem socios demittere Rheno parat, si imperium detrectetur, bello certaturus.

XLVI. At Romae nondum cognito, qui fuisset exitus in Illyrico, et legionum Germanicarum motu audito, trepida civitas incusare Tiberium quod, dum patres et plebem, invalida et inermia, cunctatione ficta ludificetur, dissideat interim miles neque duorum adulescentium nondum adulta auctoritate comprimi queat. Ire ipsum et opponere maiestatem imperatoriam debuisse cessuris, ubi principem longa experientia eundemque severitatis et munificentiae summum vidissent. An Augustum fessa aetate totiens in Germanias commeare potuisse: Tiberium vigentem annis sedere in senatu, verba patrum cavillantem? Satis prospectum urbanae servituti: militaribus animis adhibenda fomenta, ut ferre pacem velint. 5 10

XLVII. Inmotum adversus eos sermones fixumque Tiberio fuit non omittere caput rerum neque se remque publicam in casum dare. Multa quippe et diversa angebant: validior per Germaniam exercitus, propior apud Pannoniam; ille Galliarum opibus subnixus, hic Italiae imminens: quos igitur anteferret? Ac ne postpositi contumelia incenderentur. At per filios pariter adiri maiestate salva, cui maior e longinquo reverentia. Simul adulescentibus excusatum quaedam ad patrem reicere, resistentisque Germanico aut Druso posse a se mitigari vel infringi: quod aliud subsidium, si imperatorem sprevisent? Ceterum ut iam iamque iturus legit comites, conquisivit impedimenta, adornavit naves: mox hiemem aut negotia varie causatus primo prudentes, dein vulgum, diutissime provincias fefellit. 5 10

XLVIII. At Germanicus, quamquam contracto exercitu et parata in defectores ultione, dandum adhuc spatium ratus, si recenti exemplo sibi ipsi consularent, praemittit litteras ad Caecinam, venire se valida manu ac, ni supplicium in malos praesumant, usurum promisca caede. Eas 5

Caecina aquiliferis signiferisque et quod maxime castrorum sincerum erat occulte recitat, utque cunctos infamiae, se ipsos morti eximant hortatur : nam in pace causas et merita spectari ; ubi bellum ingruat, innocentes ac noxios iuxta  
10 cadere. Illi temptatis quos idoneos rebantur, postquam maiorem legionum partem in officio vident, de sententia legati statuunt tempus, quo foedissimum quemque et seditioni promptum ferro invadant. Tunc signo inter se dato inrumpunt contubernia, trucidant ignaros, nullo nisi con-  
15 sciis noscente quod caedis initium, quis finis.

XLIX. Diversa omnium, quae umquam accidere, civilium armorum facies. Non proelio, non adversis e castris, sed isdem e cubilibus, quos simul vescentis dies, simul quietos nox habuerat, discedunt in partes, ingerunt tela. Clamor  
5 vulnera sanguis palam, causa in occulto ; cetera fors regit. Et quidam bonorum caesi, postquam intellecto in quos saeviretur, pessimi quoque arma rapuerant. Neque legatus aut tribunus moderator adfuit ; permissa vulgo licentia atque ultio et satietas. Mox ingressus castra Germanicus,  
10 non medicinam illud plurimis cum lacrimis sed cladem appellans, cremari corpora iubet.

Truces etiam tum animos cupido involat eundi in hostem, piaculum furoris ; nec aliter posse placari commilitonum manes, quam si pectoribus impiis honesta vulnera accepissent.  
15 Sequitur ardorem militum Caesar iunctoque ponte tramittit duodecim milia e legionibus, sex et viginti socias cohortis, octo equitum alas, quarum ea seditione intemerata modestia fuit.

L. Laeti neque procul Germani agitabant, dum iustitio ob amissum Augustum, post discordiis attinemur. At Romanus agmine propero silvam Caesiam limitemque a Tiberio coeptum scindit, castra in limite locat, frontem ac



tergum vallo, latera concaedibus munitus. Inde saltus 5  
 obscuros permeat consultatque ex duobus itineribus breve  
 et solitum sequatur an ineditius et intemptatum eoque  
 hostibus incautum. Delecta longiore via cetera adcelerantur :  
 etenim attulerant exploratores festam eam Germanis noctem  
 ac sollemnibus epulis ludicram. Caecina cum expeditis 10  
 cohortibus praeire et obstantia silvarum amoliri iubetur ;  
 legiones modico intervallo sequuntur. Iuvit nox sideribus  
 inlustris, ventumque ad vicos Marsorum et circumdatae  
 stationes, stratis etiam tum per cubilia propterque mensas,  
 nullo metu, non antepositis vigiliis : adeo cuncta incuria 15  
 disiecta erant neque belli timor, ac ne pax quidem nisi  
 languida et soluta inter temulentos.

LI. Caesar avidas legiones, quo latior populatio foret,  
 quattuor in cuneos dispertit ; quinquaginta milium spatium  
 ferro flammisque pervastat. Non sexus, non aetas mise-  
 rationem attulit, profana simul et sacra et celeberrimum  
 illis gentibus templum, quod Tamfanae vocabant, solo 5  
 aequantur. Sine vulnere milites, qui semisomnos, inermes  
 aut palantis ceciderant. Excivit ea caedes Bructeros,  
 Tubantes, Usipetes, saltusque, per quos exercitui regressus,  
 insedere. Quod gnarum duci incessitque itineri et proelio.  
 Pars equitum et auxiliariae cohortes ducebant, mox prima 10  
 legio, et mediis impedimentis sinistrum latus unetvicensimani,  
 dextrum quintani clausere, vicensima legio terga firmavit,  
 post ceteri sociorum. Sed hostes, donec agmen per saltus  
 porrigeretur, immoti, dein latera et frontem modice ad-  
 sultantes, tota vi novissimos incurrere. Turbabanturque 15  
 densis Germanorum catervis leves cohortes, cum Caesar  
 advectus ad vicensimanos voce magna hoc illud tempus  
 obliterandae seditionis clamitabat : pergerent, properarent  
 culpam in decus vertere. Exarsere animis unoque impetu  
 perruptum hostem redigunt in aperta caeduntque ; simul 20  
 primi agminis copiae evasere silvas castraque communivere.

Quietum inde iter, fidensque recentibus ac priorum oblitus miles in hibernis locatur.

LII. Nuntiata ea Tiberium laetitia curaue adfecere, gaudebat oppressam seditionem, sed quod largiendis pecuniis et missione festinata favorem militum quaesivisset, bellica quoque Germanici gloriaangebatur. Retulit tamen ad  
 5 senatum de rebus gestis multaque de virtute eius memoravit, magis in speciem verbis adornata quam ut penitus sentire crederetur. Paucioribus Drusum et finem Illyrici motus laudavit, sed intentior et fida oratione. Cunctaque quae Germanicus indulserat, servavit etiam apud Pannonicos  
 10 exercitus.

LIII. Eodem anno Iulia supremum diem obiit, ob impudicitiam olim a patre Augusto Pandateria insula, mox oppido Reginorum, qui Siculum fretum accolunt, clausa. Fuerat in matrimonio Tiberii florentibus Gaio et Lucio  
 5 Caesaribus spreveratque ut inparem; nec alia tam intima Tiberio causa cur Rhodum abscederet. Imperium adeptus extorrem, infamem et post interfectum Postumum Agrippam omnis spei egenam inopia ac tabe longa peremit, obscuram fore necem longinquitate exilii ratus. Par causa saevitiae  
 10 in Sempronium Gracchum, qui familia nobili, sollers ingenio et prave facundus, eandem Iuliam in matrimonio Marci Agrippae temeraverat. Nec is libidini finis: traditam Tiberio pervicax adulter contumacia et odiis in maritum accendebat: litteraeque quas Iulia patri Augusto cum  
 15 insectatione Tiberii scripsit, a Graccho compositae credebantur. Igitur amotus Cercinam, Africi maris insulam, quattuordecim annis exilium toleravit. Tunc milites ad caedem missi invenere in prominenti litoris, nihil laetum opperientem. Quorum adventu breve tempus petivit, ut  
 20 suprema mandata uxori Alliariae per litteras daret, cervicemque percussoribus obtulit, constantia mortis haud

indignus Sempronio nomine: vita degeneraverat. Quidam non Roma eos milites, sed ab L. Asprenate pro consule Africae missos tradidere auctore Tiberio, qui famam caedis posse in Asprenatem verti frustra speraverat.

LIV. Idem annus novas caerimonias accepit addito sodalium Augustalium sacerdotio, ut quondam Titus Tatus retinendis Sabinorum sacris sodales Titios instituerat. Sorte ducti e primoribus civitatis unus et viginti: Tiberius Drususque et Claudius et Germanicus adiciuntur. Ludos Augustales tunc primum coeptos turbavit discordia ex certamine histrionum. Indulserat ei ludicro Augustus, dum Maecenati obtemperat effuso in amorem Bathylli; neque ipse abhorrebat talibus studiis et civile rebatur misceri voluptatibus vulgi. Alia Tiberio morum via, sed populum per tot annos molliter habitum nondum audebat ad duriora vertere.

LV. Druso Caesare C. Norbano consulibus decernitur Germanico triumphus manente bello; quod quamquam in aestatem summa ope parabat, initio veris et repentino in Chattos excursu praecipit. Nam spes incesserat dissidere hostem in Arminium ac Segestem, insignem utrumque perfidia in nos aut fide. Arminius turbator Germaniae; Segestes parari rebellionem saepe alias et supremo convivio, post quod in arma itum, aperuit suasitque Varo ut se et Arminium et ceteros proceres vinciret: nihil ausuram plebem principibus amotis, atque ipsi tempus fore, quo crimina et innoxios discerneret. Sed Varus fato et vi Armini cecidit; Segestes quamquam consensu gentis in bellum tractus discors manebat auctis privatim odiis, quod Arminius filiam eius alii pactam rapuerat, gener invisus inimici sozeri, quaeque apud concordēs vincula caritatis, incitamenta irarum apud infensos erant.

LVI. Igitur Germanicus quattuor legiones, quinque auxiliarium milia et tumultuarias catervas Germanorum cis Rhenum colentium Caecinae tradit; totidem legiones, duplicem sociorum numerum ipse ducit positoque castello  
5 super vestigia paterni praesidii in monte Tauno expeditum exercitum in Chattos rapit, L. Apronio ad munitiones viarum et fluminum relicto. Nam (rarum illi caelo) siccitate et amnibus modicis inoffensum iter properaverat, imbresque et fluminum auctus regredienti metuebantur. Sed Chattis  
10 adeo improvisus advenit, ut qucd imbecillum aetate ac sexu statim captum aut trucidatum sit. Iuventus flumen Adranam nando tramiserat, Romanosque pontem coeptantis arcebant, dein tormentis sagittisque pulsi, temptatis frustra condicionibus pacis, cum quidam ad Germanicum perfugissent,  
15 reliqui omissis pagis vicisque in silvas disperguntur. Caesar incenso Mattio (id genti caput) aperta populatus vertit ad Rhenum, non auso hoste terga abeuntium lacescere, quod illi moris, quotiens astu magis quam per formidinem cessit. Fuerat animus Cheruscis iuvare Chattos, sed exterruit  
20 Caecina huc illuc ferens arma; et Marsos congredi ausos prospero proelio cohibuit.

LVII. Neque multo post legati a Segeste venerunt auxilium orantes adversus vim popularium, a quis circum-sedebatur, validiore apud eos Arminio, quoniam bellum suadebat: nam barbaris, quanto quis audacia promptus,  
5 tanto magis fidus, rebus commotis potior habetur. Addiderat Segestes legatis filium, nomine Segimundum: sed iuvenis conscientia cunctabatur. Quippe anno quo Germaniae descivere sacerdos apud aram Ubiorum creatus ruperat vittas, profugus ad rebelles. Adductus tamen in spem  
10 clementiae Romanae pertulit patris mandata benigneque exceptus cum praesidio Gallicam in ripam missus est. Germanico pretium fuit convertere agmen, pugnatumque



in obsidentis, et ereptus Segestes magna cum propinquorum et clientium manu. Inerant feminae nobiles, inter quas uxor Arminii eademque filia Segestis, mariti magis quam 15 parentis animo, neque evicta in lacrimas neque voce supplex, compressis intra sinum manibus gravidum uterum intuens. Ferebantur et spolia Varianae cladis, plerisque eorum qui tum in deditionem veniebant praedae data, simul Segestes ipse, ingens visu et memoria bonae societatis inpavidus.

LVIII. Verba eius in hunc modum fuere: "non hic mihi primus erga populum Romanum fidei et constantiae dies. Ex quo a divo Augusto civitate donatus sum, amicos inimicosque ex vestris utilitatibus delegi, neque odio patriae (quippe proditores etiam iis quos anteponunt invisi sunt), 5 verum quia Romanis Germanisque idem conducere et pacem quam bellum probabam. Ergo raptorem filiae meae, violatorem foederis vestri, Arminium apud Varum, qui tum exercitui praesidebat, reum feci. Dilatus segnitia ducis, quia parum praesidii in legibus erat, ut me et Arminium 10 et conscios vinciret flagitavi: testis illa nox, mihi utinam potius novissima! Quae secuta sunt, defleri magis quam defendi possunt: ceterum et inieci catenas Arminio et a factione eius iniectas perpressus sum. Atque ubi primum tui copia, vetera novis et quieti turbidis antehabeo, neque 15 ob praemium, sed ut me perfidia exsolvam, simul genti Germanorum idoneus conciliator, si paenitentiam quam perniciem maluerit. Pro iuventa et errore filii veniam precor: filiam necessitate huc adductam fateor. Tuum erit consultare, utrum praevaleat, quod ex Arminio concepit 20 an quod ex me genita est." Caesar clementi responso liberis propinquisque eius incolumitatem, ipsi sedem vetere in provincia pollicetur. Exercitum reduxit nomenque imperatoris auctore Tiberio accepit. Arminii uxor virilis sexus stirpem edidit: educatus Ravennae puer quo mox ludibrio conflic- 25 tatus sit, in tempore memorabo.

LIX. Fama dediti benigneque excepti Segestis vulgata, ut quibusque bellum invitis aut cupientibus erat, spe vel dolore accipitur. Arminium super insitam violentiam raptam uxorem, subiectus servitio uxoris uterus vaecordem agebant, 5 volitabatque per Cheruscos, arma in Segestem, arma in Caesarem poscens. Neque probris temperabat: egregium patrem, magnum imperatorem, fortem exercitum, quorum tot manus unam mulierculam avexerint. Sibi tres legiones, totidem legatos procubuisse; non enim se proditione neque 10 adversus feminas gravidas, sed palam adversus armatos bellum tractare. Cerni adhuc Germanorum in lucis signa Romana, quae dis patriis suspenderit. Coleret Segestes victam ripam, redderet filio sacerdotium hominum: Germanos numquam satis excusaturos, quod inter Albim et 15 Rhenum virgas et secures et togam viderint. Aliis gentibus ignorantia imperi Romani inexpertae esse supplicia, nescia tributa; quae quoniam exuerint inritusque discesserit ille inter numina dicatus Augustus, ille delectus Tiberius, ne imperitum adulescentulum, ne seditiosum exercitum pavescerent. 20 Si patriam parentes antiqua mallent quam dominos et colonias novas, Arminium potius gloriae ac libertatis quam Segestem flagitiosae servitutis ducem sequerentur.

LX. Conciti per haec non modo Cherusci sed conterminae gentes, tractusque in partis Inguiomerus Arminii patruus, vetere apud Romanos auctoritate; unde maior Caesari metus. Et ne bellum mole una ingrueret, Caecinam cum 5 quadraginta cohortibus Romanis distrahendo hosti per Bructeros ad flumen Amisiam mittit, equitem Peditum praefectus finibus Frisiorum ducit. Ipse inpositas navibus quattuor legiones per lacus vexit; simulque pedes eques classis apud praedictum amnem convenere. Chauci cum 10 auxilia pollicerentur, in commilitium adsciti sunt. Bructeros sua urentis expedita, cum manu L. Stertinius missu

Germanici fudit; interque caedem et praedam repperit undevicensimae legionis aquilam cum Varo amissam. Ductum inde agmen ad ultimos Bructerorum, quantumque Amisiam et Lupiam amnes inter vastatum, haud procul 15 Teutoburgiensi saltu, in quo reliquiae Vari legionumque insepultae dicebantur.

LXI. Igitur cupido Caesarem invadit solvendi suprema militibus ducique, permoto ad miserationem omni qui aderat exercitu ob propinquos, amicos, denique ob casus bellorum et sortem hominum. Praemisso Caecina, ut occulta saltuum scrutaretur pontesque et aggeres umido 5 paludum et fallacibus campis inponeret, incedunt maestos locos visuque ac memoria deformis. Prima Vari castra lato ambitu et dimensis principiis trium legionum manus ostentabant; dein semiruto vallo, humili fossa accisae iam reliquiae consedissee intellegebantur: medio campi albertia 10 ossa, ut fugerant, ut restiterant, disiecta vel aggerata. Adiacebant fragmina telorum equorumque artus, simul truncis arborum antefixa ora. Lucis propinquis barbarae arae, apud quas tribunos ac primorum ordinum centuriones mactaverant. Et cladis eius superstites, pugnam aut vincula 15 elapsi, referebant hic cecidissee legatos, illic raptas aquilas; primum ubi vulnus Varo adactum, ubi infelici dextera et suo ictu mortem invenerit; quo tribunali contionatus Arminius, quot patibula captivis, quae scrobes, utque signis et aquilis per superbiam inluserit.

LXII. Igitur Romanus qui aderat exercitus sextum post cladis annum trium legionum ossa, nullo noscente alienas reliquias an suorum humo tegeret, omnes ut coniunctos, ut consanguineos, aucta in hostem ira, maesti simul et infensi condebant. Primum exstruendo tumulo caespitem Caesar 5 posuit, gratissimo munere in defunctos et praesentibus

doloris socius. Quod Tiberio haud probatum, seu cuncta Germanici in deterius trahenti, sive exercitum imagine caesorum insepulorumque tardatum ad proelia et formidoliosiore[m] hostium credebat; neque imperatorem auguratum et vetustissimis caerimoniis praeditum adtrectare feralia debuisse.

LXIII. Sed Germanicus cedentem in avia Arminium secutus, ubi primum copia fuit, evehi equites campumque, quem hostis insederat, eripi iubet. Arminius colligi suos et propinquare silvis monitos vertit repente; mox signum prorumpendi dedit iis quos per saltus occultaverat. Tunc nova acie turbatus eques, missaeque subsidiariae cohortes et fugientium agmine impulsae auxerant consternationem; trudebanturque in paludem gnaram vincentibus, iniquam nesciis, ni Caesar productas legiones instruxisset. Inde hostibus terror, fiducia militi; et manibus aequis abscessum. Mox reducto ad Amisiam exercitu legiones classe, ut advexerat, reportat: pars equitum litore Oceani petere Rhenum iussa; Caecina, qui suum militem ducebat, monitus, quamquam notis itineribus regrederetur, pontes longos quam maturrime superare. Angustus is trames vastas inter paludes quondam a L. Domitio aggeratus: cetera limosa, tenacia gravi caeno aut rivis incerta erant; circum silvae paulatim adclives quas tum Arminius inplevit, compendiis viarum et cito agmine onustum sarcinis armisque militem cum antevenisset. Caecinae dubitanti, quonam modo ruptos vetustate pontes reponeret simulque propulsaret hostem, castra metari in loco placuit, ut opus et alii proelium inciperent.

LXIV. Barbari perfringere stationes seque inferre muritoribus nisi lacesunt, circumgrediuntur, occursant: miscetur operantium bellantiumque clamor, et cuncta pariter Romanis



adversa, locus uligine profunda, idem ad gradum instabilis, procedentibus lubricus, corpora gravia lorice; neque librare 5  
 pila inter undas poterant. Contra Cheruscis sueta apud paludes proelia, procera membra, hastae ingentes ad vulnera facienda quamvis procul. Nox demum inclinantis iam legiones adversae pugnae exemit. Germani ob prospera indefessi, ne tum quidem sumpta quiete, quantum aquarum 10  
 circum surgentibus iugis oritur vertere in subiecta, mersaque humo et obruto quod effectum operis duplicatus militi labor. Quadragesimum id stipendium Caecina parendi aut imperitandi habebat, secundarum ambiguarumque rerum sciens eoque interritus. Igitur futura volvens non aliud 15  
 repperit quam ut hostem silvis coërceret, donec saucii quantumque gravioris agminis anteirent; nam medio montium et paludum porrigebatur planities, quae tenuem aciem pateretur. Deliguntur legiones quinta dextro lateri, unetvicensima in laevum, primani ducendum ad agmen, 20  
 vicensimanus adversum secuturos.

LXV. Nox per diversa inquires, cum barbari festis epulis, laeto cantu aut truci sonore subiecta vallium ac resultantis saltus complerent, apud Romanos invalidi ignes, interruptae voces, atque ipsi passim adiacerent vallo, oberrarent tentoriis, insomnes magis quam pervigiles. Ducemque terruit 5  
 dira quies: nam Quintilium Varum sanguine oblitum et paludibus emersum cernere et audire visus est velut vocantem, non tamen obsecutus et manus intendentem reppulisse. Coepta luce missae in latera legiones, metu an contumacia, locum deseruere, capto propere campo umentia ultra. 10  
 Neque tamen Arminius quamquam libero incursu statim prorupit: sed ut haesere caeno fossisque impedimenta, turbati circum milites, incertus signorum ordo, utque tali in tempore, sibi quisque properus et lentae adversum imperia aures, inrumpere Germanos iubet, clamitans "en Varus 15

eodemque iterum fato victae legiones!" Simul haec, et cum delectis scindit agmen equisque maxime vulnera ingerit. Illi sanguine suo et lubrico paludum lapsantes excussis rectoribus disicere obvios, proterere iacentes. Plurimus  
20 circa aquilas labor, quae neque ferri adversum ingruentia tela neque figi limosa humo poterant. Caecina dum sustentat aciem, suffosso equo delapsus circumveniebatur, ni prima legio sese opposuisset. Iuvit hostium aviditas, omissa caede praedam sectantium; enisaeque legiones vesperascente  
25 die in aperta et solida. Neque is miseriarum finis. Struendum vallum, petendus agger, amissa magna ex parte per quae egeritur humus aut exciditur caespes. Non tentoria manipulis, non fomenta sauciis; infectos caeno aut cruore cibos dividentes, funestas tenebras et tot hominum milibus unum  
30 iam reliquum diem lamentabantur.

LXVI. Forte equus abruptis vinculis vagus et clamore territus quosdam occurrentium obturbavit. Tanta inde consternatio inrupisse Germanos credentium, ut cuncti ruerent ad portas, quarum decumana maxime petebatur,  
5 aversa hosti et fugientibus tutior. Caecina comperto vanam esse formidinem, cum tamen neque auctoritate neque precibus, ne manu quidem obsistere aut retinere militem quiret, proiectus in limine portae miseratione demum, quia per corpus legati eundum erat, clausit viam. Simul tribuni et  
10 centuriones falsum pavorem esse docuerunt.

LXVII. Tunc contractos in principia iussosque dicta cum silentio accipere temporis ac necessitatis monet. Unam in armis salutem, sed ea consilio temperanda manendumque intra vallum, donec expugnandi hostes spe propius succederent;  
5 mox undique erumpendum: illa eruptione ad Rhenum perveniri. Quod si fugerent, pluris silvas, profundas magis paludes, saevitiam hostium superesse; at

victoribus decus gloriam. Quae domi cara, quae in castris honesta, memorat; reticuit de adversis. Equos dehinc, orsus a suis, legatorum tribunorumque nulla ambitione fortissimo cuique bellatori tradit, ut hi, mox pedes in hostem invaderent. 10

LXVIII. Haud minus inquires Germanus spe, cupidine et diversis ducum sententiis agebat, Arminio sinerent egredi egressosque rursum per umida et inpedita circumvenirent suadente, atrociora Inguiomero et laeta barbaris, ut vallum armis ambirent: promptam expugnationem, plures captivos, incorruptam praedam fore. Igitur orta die prouunt fossas, 5 iniciunt crates, summa valli prensant, raro super milite et quasi ob metum defixo. Postquam haesere munimentis, datur cohortibus signum cornuaque ac tubae concinuere. Exin clamore et impetu tergis Germanorum circumfunduntur, exprobrantes non hic silvas nec paludes, sed aequis locis aequos deos. Hosti facile excidium et paucos ac semermos cogitanti sonus tubarum, fulgor armorum, quanto inopina, tanto maiora offunduntur, cadebantque, ut rebus secundis avidi, ita adversis incauti. Arminius integer, 15 Inguiomerus post grave vulnus pugnam deseruere; vulgus trucidatum est, donec ira et dies permansit. Nocte demum reversae legiones, quamvis plus vulnerum, eadem ciborum egestas fatigaret, vim sanitatem copias, cuncta in victoria habuere. 20

LXIX. Pervaserat interim circumventi exercitus fama et infesto Germanorum agmine Gallias peti, ac ni Agrippina inpositum Rheno pontem solvi prohibuisset, erant qui id flagitium formidine auderent. Sed femina ingens animi munia ducis per eos dies induit, militibusque, ut quis inops 5 aut saucius, vestem et fomenta dilargita est. Tradit C. Plinius, Germanicorum bellorum scriptor, stetisse apud

principium pontis, laudes et grates reversis legionibus habentem. Id Tiberii animum altius penetravit: non enim  
10 simplices eas curas, nec adversus externos militem quaeri. Nihil relictum imperatoribus, ubi femina manipulos intervisat, signa adeat, largitionem temptet, tamquam parum ambitiose filium ducis gregali habitu circumferat Caesar-emque Caligulam appellari velit. Potiorem iam apud exer-  
15 citus Agrippinam quam legatos, quam duces; compressam a muliere seditionem, cui nomen principis obsistere non quiverit. Accendebat haec onerabatque Seianus, peritia morum Tiberii odia in longum iaciens, quae reconderet auctaque promeret.

LXX. At Germanicus legionum, quas navibus vexerat, secundam et quartam decumam itinere terrestri P. Vitellio ducendas tradit, quo levior classis vadoso mari innaret vel reciproco sideret. Vitellius primum iter sicca humo aut  
5 modice adlabente aestu quietum habuit: mox impulsu aquilonis, simul sidere aequinoctii, quo maxime tumescit Oceanus, rapi agique agmen. Et opplebantur terrae: eadem freto litori campis facies neque discerni poterant incerta ab solidis, brevia a profundis. Sternuntur fluctibus,  
10 hauriuntur gurgitibus; iumenta, sarcinae, corpora exanima interfluunt, occursant. Permiscentur inter se manipuli, modo pectore modo ore tenus exstantes, aliquando subtracto solo disiecti aut obruti. Non vox et mutui hortatus iuvabant adversante unda; nihil strenuus ab ignavo, sapiens ab  
15 imprudenti, consilia a casu differre: cuncta pari violentia involvebantur. Tandem Vitellius in editiora enisus eodem agmen subduxit. Pernoctavere sine utensilibus, sine igni, magna pars nudo aut mulcato corpore, haud minus miserabiles quam quos hostis circumsidet; quippe illic etiam  
20 honestae mortis usus, his inglorium exitium. Lux reddidit terram, penetratumque ad, amnem Visurgin quo Caesar



classe contenderat. Inpositae dein legiones, vagante fama submersas; nec fides salutis, antequam Caesarem exercitumque reducem videre.

LXXI. Iam Stertinius, ad accipiendum in deditionem Segimerum fratrem Segestis praemissus, ipsum et filium eius in civitatem Ubiorum perduxerat. Data utrique venia, facile Segimero, cunctantius filio, quia Quintilii Vari corpus inlusisse dicebatur. Ceterum ad supplenda exercitus damna 5 certavere Galliae Hispaniae Italia, quod cuique promptum, arma equos aurum offerentes. Quorum laudato studio Germanicus, armis modo et equis ad bellum sumptis, propria pecunia militem iuvit. Utque cladis memoriam etiam comitate leniret, circumire saucios, facta singulorum ex- 10 tollere, vulnera intuens alium spe, alium gloria, cunctos adloquio et cura sibi et proelio firmabat.

LXXII. Decreta eo anno triumphalia insignia A. Caecinae, L. Apronio, C. Silio ob res cum Germanico gestas. Nomen patris patriae Tiberius, a populo saepius ingestum, repudiavit; neque in acta sua iurari quamquam censente senatu permisit, cuncta mortalium incerta quantoque plus 5 adeptus foret, tanto se magis in lubrico dictitans. Non tamen ideo faciebat fidem civilis animi; nam legem maiestatis reduxerat, cui nomen apud veteres idem, sed alia in iudicium veniebant, si quis proditione exercitum aut plebem seditionibus, denique male gesta re publica maiestatem populi 10 Romani minuisset: facta arguebantur, dicta inpune erant. Primus Augustus cognitionem de famosis libellis specie legis eius tractavit, commotus Cassii Severi libidine, qua viros feminasque inlustres procacibus scriptis diffamaverat; mox Tiberius, consultante Pompeio Macro praetore, an iudicia 15 maiestatis redderentur, exercendas leges esse respondit.

Hunc quoque asperavere carmina incertis auctoribus vulgata in saevitiam superbiamque eius et discordem cum matre animum.

LXXIII. Haud pigebit referre in Falanio et Rubrio, modicis equitibus Romanis, praetemptata crimina, ut quibus initiis, quanta Tiberii arte gravissimum exitium inrepserit, dein repressum sit, postremo arserit cunctaque corripuerit, 5 noscatur. Falanio obiciebat accusator, quod inter cultores Augusti, qui per omnes domos in modum collegiorum habebantur, Cassium quendam mimum corpore infamem adscivisset quodque venditis hortis statuam Augusti simul mancipasset. Rubrio crimini dabatur violatum periurio 10 numen Augusti. Quae ubi Tiberio notuere, scripsit consulis non ideo decretum patri suo caelum, ut in perniciem civium is honor verteretur. Cassium histrionem solitum inter alios eiusdem artis interesse ludis, quos mater sua in memoriam Augusti sacrasset; nec contra religiones fieri, 15 quod effigies eius, ut alia numinum simulacra, venditionibus hortorum et domuum accedant. Ius iurandum perinde aestimandum quam si Iovem fefellisset: deorum iniurias dis curae.

LXXIV. Nec multo post Granium Marcellum praetorem Bithyniae quaestor ipsius Caepio Crispinus maiestatis postulavit, subscribente Romano Hispone: qui formam vitae iniit quam postea celebrem miseriae temporum et audaciae 5 hominum fecerunt. Nam egens, ignotus, inquires, dum occultis libellis saevitiae principis adrepat, mox clarissimo cuique periculum facessit, potentiam apud unum, odium apud omnis adeptus dedit exemplum, quod secuti ex pauperibus divites, ex contemptis metuendi perniciem aliis 10 ac postremum sibi invenere. Sed Marcellum insimulabat

sinistros de Tiberio sermones habuisse, inevitabile crimen, cum ex moribus principis foedissima quaeque deligeret accusator obiectaretque reo. Nam quia vera erant, etiam dicta credebantur. Addidit Hispo statuam Marcelli altius quam Caesarum sitam, et alia in statua amputato capite 15 Augusti effigiem Tiberii inditam. Ad quod exarsit adeo, ut rupta taciturnitate proclamaret se quoque in ea causa laturum sententiam palam et iuratum, quo ceteris eadem necessitas fieret. Manebant etiam tum vestigia morientis libertatis. Igitur Cn. Piso "quo" inquit "loco censebis, 20 Caesar? Si primus, habebo quod sequar: si post omnis, vereor ne imprudens dissentiam." Permotus his, quantoque incautius efferverat, paenitentia patiens tulit absolvi reum criminibus maiestatis: de pecuniis repetundis ad recipi-  
tores itum est.

LXXV. Nec patrum cognitionibus satiatu*s* iudiciis adsidebat in cornu tribunalis, ne praetorem curuli depelleret; multaque eo coram adversus ambitum et potentium preces constituta. Sed dum veritati consulitur, libertas corrump**5** batur. Inter quae Pius Aurelius senator questus mole publicae viae ductuque aquarum labefactas aedis suas, auxilium patrum invocabat. Resistentibus aerarii praetoribus subvenit Caesar pretiumque aedium Aurelio tribuit, erogandae per honesta pecuniae cupiens, quam virtutem diu retinuit, cum ceteras exueret. Propertio Celeri praetorio, 10 veniam ordinis ob paupertatem petenti, deciens sestertium largitus est, satis conperito paternas ei angustias esse. Temptantis eadem alios probare causas senatui iussit, cupidine severitatis in iis etiam quae rite faceret acerbus. Unde ceteri silentium et paupertatem confessioni et beneficio 15 praeposuerunt.

LXXVI. Eodem anno continuis imbris auctus Tiberis plana urbis stagnaverat; relabentem secuta est aedificiorum et hominum strages. Igitur censuit Asinius Gallus ut libri Sibyllini adirentur. Renuit Tiberius, perinde divina  
5 humanaque obtegens; sed remedium coercendi fluminis Ateio Capitoni et L. Arruntio mandatum. Achaïam ac Macedoniam onera deprecantis levare in praesens proconsulari imperio tradique Caesari placuit. Edendis gladiatoribus, quos Germanici fratris ac suo nomine obtulerat, Drusus  
10 praesedit, quamquam vili sanguine nimis gaudens; quod in vulgus formidolosum et pater arguisse dicebatur. Cur abstinuerit spectaculo ipse, varie trahebant; alii taedio coetus, quidam tristitia ingenii et metu conparationis, quia Augustus comiter interfuisset. Non crediderim ad osten-  
15 tandam saevitiam movendasque populi offensiones concessam filio materiem, quamquam id quoque dictum est.

LXXVII. At theatri licentia, proximo priore anno coepta, gravius tum erupit, occisis non modo e plebe set militibus et centurione, vulnerato tribuno praetoriae cohortis, dum probra in magistratus et dissensionem vulgi  
5 prohibent. Actum de ea seditione apud patres dicebanturque sententiae ut praetoribus ius virgarum in histriones esset. Intercessit Haterius Agrippa tribunus plebei increpitusque est Asinii Galli oratione, silente Tiberio, qui ea simulacra libertatis senatui praebebat. Valuit tamen  
10 intercessio, quia divus Augustus immunes verberum histriones quondam responderat, neque fas Tiberio infringere dicta eius. De modo lucaris et adversus lasciviam fautorum multa decernuntur; ex quis maxime insignia, ne domos pantomimorum senator introiret, ne egredientes in publicum  
15 equites Romani cingerent aut alibi quam in theatro spectarentur, et spectantium immodestiam exilio multandi potestas praetoribus fieret.



LXXVIII. Templum ut in colonia Tarraconensi strueretur Augusto petentibus Hispanis permissum, datumque in omnis provincias exemplum. Centesimam rerum venalium post bella civilia institutam deprecante populo edixit Tiberius militare aerarium eo subsidio niti; simul imparem 5 oneri rem publicam, nisi vicensimo militiae anno veterani dimitterentur. Ita proximae seditionis male consulta, quibus sedecim stipendiorum finem expresserant, abolita in posterum.

LXXIX. Actum deinde in senatu ab Arruntio et Ateio, an ob moderandas Tiberis exundationes verterentur flumina et lacus, per quos augescit; auditaque municipiorum et coloniarum legationes, orantibus Florentinis, ne Clanis solito alveo demotus in amnem Arnum transferretur idque 5 ipsis perniciem adferret. Congruentia his Interamnates disseruere: pessum ituros fecundissimos Italiae campos, si amnis Nar (id enim parabatur) in rivos diductus superstagnavisset. Nec Reatini silebant, Velinum lacum, qui in Narem effunditur, obstrui recusantes, quippe in adiacentia 10 erupturum: optume rebus mortalium consuluisse naturam, quae sua ora fluminibus, suos cursus utque originem, ita fines dederit. Spectandas etiam religiones sciorum, qui sacra et lucos et aras patriis amnibus dicaverint; quin ipsum Tiberim nolle prorsus accolis fluviis orbatum minore 15 gloria fluere. Seu preces coloniarum seu difficultas operum sive superstitio valuit ut in sententiam Cn. Pisonis concederetur, qui nil mutandum censuerat.

LXXX. Prorogatur Poppaeo Sabino provincia Moesia, additis Achaia ac Macedonia. Id quoque morum Tiberii fuit, continuare imperia ac plerosque ad finem vitae in isdem exercitibus aut iurisdictionibus habere. Causae varie

5 traduntur : alii taedio novae curae semel placita pro aeternis servavisse, quidam invidia, ne plures fruerentur ; sunt qui existiment, ut callidum eius ingenium, ita anxium iudicium. Neque enim eminentis virtutes sectabatur, et rursum vitia oderat : ex optimis periculum sibi, a pessimis dedecus publicum metuebat. Qua haesitatione postremo eo provectus est, ut mandaverit quibusdam provincias, quos egredi urbe non erat passurus.

LXXXI. De comitiis consularibus quae tum primum illo principe ac deinceps fuere, vix quicquam firmare ausim : adeo diversa non modo apud auctores sed in ipsius orationibus reperiuntur. Modo subtractis candidatorum nominibus  
5 originem cuiusque et vitam et stipendia descripsit, ut qui forent intellexeretur ; aliquando ea quoque significatione subtracta candidatos hortatus ne ambitu comitia turbarent, suam ad id curam pollicitus est. Plerumque eos tantum apud se professos disseruit, quorum nomina consulibus  
10 edidisset ; posse et alios profiteri, si gratiae aut meritis confiderent : speciosa verbis, re inania aut subdola, quantoque maiore libertatis imagine tegebantur, tanto eruptura ad infensius servitium.

## NOTES.

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NOTE.—*Hist. Aug. and Tib.* = *History of the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius* (Univ.-Corr. Coll. Press Warehouse, 2s. 6d.), the first six chapters of which are published separately (1s.) as *A History of the Reign of Augustus*. S. G. Smith's *Smaller Latin Grammar* (Murray, 3s. 6d.).

**Ch. 1. habuere:** *governed*. According to the traditional chronology the regal period lasted from B.C. 753 to 509.

**consulatum:** on the expulsion of the kings the executive authority was placed in the hands of two consuls. The first to hold this office were L. Junius Brutus and Tarquinius Collatinus.

**dictaturae:** the dictator was a magistrate with supreme authority (*imperium*), appointed at a crisis of extraordinary danger. The term of office was, at the maximum, six months, but it was usual for the dictator to resign on completing the business for which he was appointed. The first holder of the office was, according to Livy (II. 18), T. Lartius, B.C. 499.

**ad tempus:** either for a short time, or like the Greek *πρὸς καιρόν*, to meet a crisis.

**decemviralis potestas:** decemvirs were appointed in B.C. 451 to draw up a code of laws. At the end of their year of power another body of ten was elected, who refused to lay down their authority at the legitimate time, and were only deposed by force in B.C. 449.

**ultra biennium:** probably *potestas* is used in its strict technical sense of *lawful authority of a magistrate*. Their tenure of office in the third year was not *potestas*, but usurpation (*potentia*).

**tribunorum militum consulare ius:** military tribunes with consular power, chosen from both patricians and plebeians, took the place of the consuls, who could only be patricians, at times between the years B.C. 444 and 367.

**Cinnae:** Cinna, the leader of the popular party after the death of Marius, was master of Rome and consul from B.C. 87 to B.C. 84. See Historical Index.

**Sullae:** the *dominatio*, tyranny, of Sulla lasted from B.C. 82 to B.C. 79.

**Pompei Crassique potentia:** Pompeius, Crassus, and Caesar formed

the *First Triumvirate* in B.C. 60. Crassus was killed in a Parthian campaign B.C. 53. Pompeius was then accepted by the senate as its champion, and broke with Caesar, by whom he was defeated at Pharsalia in B.C. 48.

**Lepidi . . . Augustum**: Antonius, Lepidus, and Octavius formed the *Second Triumvirate* in B.C. 43. After the battle of Philippi in the next year Lepidus was obliged to be content with the possession of the province of Africa, and on attempting to oppose Octavius by means of Sextus Pompeius' soldiery was deprived of all power (B.C. 36). Antonius ruled the eastern half of the Roman dominions until he was defeated at Actium in B.C. 31.

**principis**: *princeps* was a title given to Octavius at an early period of his life. The name carried with it no official position, only implying *first of the citizens*: as such it is often given to Pompeius. It is not to be confused with the designation *princeps senatus*, leader of the senate, conferred on Augustus in B.C. 28.

**sub imperium**: *under military command*. The *imperium*, command of the army, had been originally enjoyed by the consuls; then, subsequently to Sulla's legislation, by the proconsuls and praetors. But while they could only exercise it in certain provinces, Octavius possessed it throughout the Roman territories, and was thus the head of all the military forces of the state. It is defined by Cicero as that "sine quo res militaris administrari, teneri exercitus, bellum geri non potest." This power was latent when the consul or praetor was at Rome; hence the distinction between *imperium domi* and *imperium militiae*.

**claris scriptoribus**: *by illustrious historians* (especially Livy and Varro). The dative of the agent is in prose of the best period most frequently used with the gerundive, but sometimes also with the passive participles and adjectives in *-bilis*. Tacitus uses it freely with *all* forms of the passive.

**temporibus Augusti dicendis**: *to describe the times of Augustus*, the dative of work contemplated, a construction in which Tacitus is particularly fond of using the gerundive.

**donec detererentur**: *until they were deterred*. Early writers only make *donec*, like *dum*, govern the subj. when there is a notion of *purpose*; in this case, where a simple fact is introduced, the indicative would be used.

**falsae**: *were falsified*.

**consilium mihi**: *sc. est, my plan is*. Cp. Macaulay's opening words: "I purpose to write," etc.

**et cetera**: the reigns of Caligula (A.D. 37—41), Claudius (A.D. 41—54), and Nero (A.D. 54—68), after which the *Histories* of Tacitus take up the narrative.

**Ch. 2. Bruto et Cassio caesis**: Brutus and Cassius, the last champions of the republic, were defeated at Philippi in B.C. 42 by Octavius and Antonius. See Index.

**nulla jam publica arma** (*sc. erant*): *no state army*. Tacitus



means that the generals he proceeds to mention—Pompeius, Lepidus, Antonius, and Octavius—waged war as private individuals (*privato consilio*, Mon. Aneyr.), not at the command of their country.

**Pompeius** : Sextus Pompeius, the younger son of the triumvir. See Index.

**exuto Lepido** : see note, Ch. 1.

**interfecto Antonio** : after the defeat of Actium in B.C. 31 Antonius fled to Egypt. He put an end to his life when Octavius appeared before Alexandria in the following year.

**Julianis partibus** : the Julian party. *Pars* in the plural denotes (1) party, faction, as here ; (2) a character on the stage ; (3) office, duty, e.g., *temperantiae partes*.

**Caesar** : i.e. Octavius.

**posito triumviri nomine** : the division of authority, which Octavius, Antonius, and Lepidus had agreed to at Bononia in B.C. 43, received shortly afterwards the assent of the comitia, and the title of *triumviri reipublicae constituendae* was conferred on them for a period of five years. In B.C. 38 they renewed the compact for a similar period, and retained the title of triumvirs without any special authorisation from the people. In B.C. 33, at the end of the second term of five years, Octavius laid down this title, though he retained the powers it implied till B.C. 27. On the titles of Augustus and their import see Intro., § 4, *Hist. Aug. and Tib.*, Chaps. II., V.

**consulem se ferens** : posing as consul. Octavius was elected consul for the second time in B.C. 33, a third time in B.C. 31, and then continuously from that date down to B.C. 23.

**tribunicio iure** : the *tribunicia potestas* supplied the popular element in the emperor's position. It enabled him to appear as the protector of the populace. It rendered his person sacred (*sacro-sanctus*). It gave him the power of vetoing any proposal made in the senate, and of deciding appeals involving the question of life or death. It is doubtful whether the *ius tribunicium* and the *potestas tribunicia* are identical. The former, assumed by Octavius in B.C. 36, possibly only secured the inviolability of his person. The other privileges of a tribune—a title he could not take to himself, being a patrician—gradually accrued, until in B.C. 23 the emperor formally assumed the *potestas tribunicia* with all the powers above-mentioned.

**annona** : distributions of corn.

**dulcedine otii** : "The desire of the world was for peace" (*Hist. Aug. and Tib.*, Chap. I., where the causes of Augustus' success are enumerated).

**insurgere** : hist. infin., the subject of which is *Caesar*.

**per acies aut proscriptione** : Tacitus is fond of varying his constructions. *Per acies* is equivalent to an ablative.

**quanto quis promptior** : in writers of the Augustan age this would be followed by *tanto magis*. Cf. *quanto incautius efferverat, poenitentia patiens* (Ch. 74).

**servitio** : *promptus* in other writers is followed by *ad*.

**neque provinciae abnuebant** : the provinces had suffered greatly

during the last century and a half of republican rule through the weakness of the central authority. A governor would commit the grossest acts of injustice, conscious that almost certain acquittal awaited him if brought to trial at Rome. In addition there were the extortions of the *publicani*, the farmers of the taxes, to be borne. If through inability to satisfy the demands of these men, the provincials had had recourse to the *foeneratores*, money-lenders, their position was as miserable as it is possible to conceive. Under the empire these abuses were, to a considerable extent, checked by the vigilance of the emperor and his *procuratores fisci*. Tyrannical governors, however, still existed, though they were more frequently brought to trial and convicted than under the republic. See *Hist. Aug. and Tib.*, Chap. VI.

**certamina potentium** : e.g. Marius, Sulla, Caesar, Pompeius. Sulla fined the cities of Asia more than 20,000 talents. In B.C. 43 Brutus compelled them to pay ten years' tribute in a single year, a demand which Antonius repeated a few years later.

**Ch. 3. Subsidia dominationi** : as *props* of his despotism. After the substantive *subsidia* a genitive would be more usual : cf. for this Tacitean peculiarity, *rector iuveni*, Ch. 24.

**Claudium Marcellum** : see Index.

**admodum** : *lit.* "to the limit." "Exceedingly" is, like *κομῶν* in Demosthenes, frequently joined with expressions denoting age.

**pontificatu** : (probably from *pons* and *facere*, but the significance of the word is uncertain). The college of pontiffs consisted originally of four, but was raised successively up to fifteen in Caesar's time, both numbers being exclusive of the *Pontifex Maximus*. A long struggle whether vacancies should be filled by co-option or by popular election ended in a compromise in B.C. 63. The college had a general superintendence in matters religious; but by this time they had ceased to keep annals, regulate the calendar, etc., and their jurisdiction in morals was not highly esteemed. Even the position of *Pontifex Maximus* was honorific rather than authoritative.

**curuli aedilitate** : this magistracy dated from the passing of the *Licinian Rogations* into law, B.C. 367. They were two in number; were alternately patrician and plebeian; and in conjunction with the *aediles plebei* regulated trade and superintended police arrangements.

**M. Agrippam** : the great war-minister of Augustus. For this and the following names—*Tiberius*, *Nero*, *Claudius*, *Drusus*, *Gaius* and *Lucius Caesar*, *Livia*, *Agrippa Postumus*, *Germanicus*—see Genealogical Table, Introduction, § 6, and Index.

**geminatis consulatibus** : two consulships in successive years (B.C. 28, 27).

**generum sumpsit** : Agrippa married Julia, the daughter of Augustus, and widow of Marcellus, in B.C. 21. By her he had three sons, Gaius Caesar, Lucius Caesar, and Agrippa Postumus, and two daughters, Julia and Agrippina, the younger, who married Germanicus.

**privignos** : *stepsons* : they were the sons of his wife Livia.

**imperatorii nominibus**: though *legati* acting not under their own auspices, but under those of Augustus, they were saluted as *imperatores* by their troops on the battle field. This did not entitle them to assume *imperator* as a *praenomen*, a distinction which could only be conferred by the *comitia* or senate.

**neelum posita puerili praetexta**: abl. abs. The embroidered toga of boyhood was worn until the seventeenth year, when it was exchanged for the plain *toga virilis*.

**appellari**: the infinitive is dependent on *cupiverat*.

**principes juventutis**: this title gave precedence among the members of the equestrian centuries. Cf. Ovid's address: *Nunc juvenum princeps, denique, Gaie, senum*.

**specie recusantis**: though he pretended to decline it.

**vita concessit**: died, in B.C. 12. The death of Drusus occurred three years later. Lucius Caesar died in A.D. 2, and Gaius Caesar in A.D. 4.

**remeantem Armenia**: returning from Armenia. The ablative without a preposition to denote motion from a country is frequent in Tacitus; in writers of the Augustan age this construction only occurs with names of towns and small islands. Other peculiar usages in Tacitus in connection with names of places are: (a) the country to which motion takes place is expressed by the acc. without a preposition: e.g. *Aegyptum proficiscitur*; (b) the abl. is used without a preposition to denote direction, e.g. *litore Oceani* (Ch. 63).

**Nero**: i.e. Tiberius, whose full name was Tiberius Claudius Nero.

**illuc cuncta vergere**: in him all influence centred—the hist. infin. *Illuc*, like *illuc*, is occasionally used of persons; for the latter, cf. *civile bellum a Vitellio coepit, et initium illic fuit* (with him).

**filius . . . adsumitur**: Tiberius was adopted by Augustus two years after his return from Rhodes, in A.D. 4. See Index.

**palam hortatu**: at her open suggestion.

**Agrippam Postumum . . . Planasiam**: see Historical and Geographical Index.

**proiecerit**: strict sequence would require *proiceret* or *proiecisset* after the historic tense *derinzerat*. The perfect is, however, more common to express a completed result as here; the imperfect would mean "bound him sufficiently to cast."

**sane**: concessive, to be sure, certainly.

**artium**: gen. after *rudis*, an adj. denoting want, Gr. § 276.

**flagitii**: the gen. after *compertus*, found guilty of, is an extension of that used with verbs of accusing and condemning.

**at hercule**: on the other hand.

**ortum Druso**: the son of Drusus, the brother of Tiberius. The adoption of Germanicus by Tiberius, and of Tiberius by Augustus, took place at the same date (A.D. 4). Germanicus fought under the command of Tiberius in Pannonia and Delmatia (A.D. 7—10), and then against the German tribes (A.D. 10, 11).

**esset**: in ordinary usage *quoniam* when (as here) introducing a fact is followed by the indicative.

**filius juvenis**: this was Drusus Caesar, his son by his first wife Vipsania Agrippina. See Index.

**sed quo**: *but (he did so) in order that*. *insisteret* is final subj.

**abolendae magis infamiae**: *rather for the purpose of wiping out the disgrace*. The genitive is dependent on *bellum*, and is an extension of the genitive of definition. We may suppose that the first step in the process was to use *bellum infamiae* = *bellum infame*, which by the addition of a gerundive with the force of a qualifying adjective developed into *bellum abolendae infamiae*.

**amissum cum Quintilio Varo**: the *Variana clades* occurred in A.D. 9. Two years previously Quintilius Varus had proceeded from the government of Syria to that of Germany. He irritated the native tribes by the introduction of Roman customs, and when marching into the interior of the country between the Rhine and the Weser was deserted and attacked by the Cheruscan Arminius or Hermann. Three entire legions perished in the *Saltus Teutoburgiensis*, and Varus ended his life by suicide. It was not until A.D. 15 that Germanicus restored something of the prestige of the Roman arms by honouring with burial the remains of the slaughtered legionaries, and recovering the lost standards.

**vocabula**: *names*. Quaestors, aediles, praetors, and consuls existed under the Empire as they had done during the republican rule. But the concentration in the emperor's person of powers which enabled him to control all magistrates, the creation of officers like the *praefectus urbi*, and the establishment of boards and commissions, took away their importance, and degraded them until they were of little more consequence than the officials of any provincial town.

**post Actiacam victoriam**: the victory of Actium gained by Octavius in B.C. 31.

**inter bella civium**: the great civil war, which ended in the overthrow of the republic, commenced when Caesar crossed the Rubicon, B.C. 49. **nati**: *sc. erant*.

**quotus quisque**: *how few*. Just as *decimus quisque* means *each tenth*, so *quotus quisque* denotes literally *each how-many-eth*, i.e. "one out of how large a number," "what a small fraction."

**vidisset**: consecutive subjunctive, *of such an age as to have seen*. Note that *rem publicam* is here equivalent to our *Republic*: it usually means *state*.

**Ch. 4. moris**: partitive gen. dependent on *nihil*, S. G. § 270.

**aspectare**: *looked up to*—hist. infin.

**nulla in praesens formidine**: *with no fears for the present*; abl. abs., consisting of subst. and adjective without verb.

**aegro et corpore**: *et* = "*also*, in addition," lit., "*when his old age was being worn out in addition (i.e. to his advanced years) by a sickly body*."

**imminentis**: acc. plur. The termination *is* is preferred to *es* in the acc. plur. of pres. participles.

**differebant**: *differre* in this sense of *to cry down, to defame*, is



most ante-classical or post-Augustan. The acc. and infin. which follow are in *oratio obliqua*.

**vetere . . . superbia** : abl. of quality. Tacitus here follows Livy in his estimate of the Claudia gens. The latter writer speaks of the family as *superbissima ac crudelissima in plebem Romanam*, and from his history we have grown accustomed "to regard the gens as the very incarnation of the patriciate, and its leaders as the champions of the aristocratic party, and the conservatives in opposition to the plebeians and the democrats." Mommsen, however, has tried to prove that the prevalent view is a mistaken one. He shows that of the two Claudii in early times about whom we have any certain information, Appius the Decemvir inflicted a severe defeat on the nobility by obtaining a written body of laws, and Appius the Censor, by admitting landless men into all the tribes and centuries, "brought about, perhaps, the most material constitutional change which ever took place in republican Rome."

**premanur** : the subj. after *quanquam* is due to *oratio obliqua*.

**in domo regnatrice** : *in the reigning house*. For the use of a substantive in apposition, in place of an adjective, cf. *imperator populus* (III. 6), an imperial people ; *mare oceanus*, the ocean (Ch. 9). **Eductum** (*esse*) is predicate to *hunc*, **congestos** (*esse*) predicate to *consulatus, triumphos*.

**exul egerit** : *lived in exile*. *Agere* is used absolutely ; cf. *apud illos homines qui tum agebant*, who lived then (III. 19).

**accedere matrem** : *there was in addition his mother*.

**inpotentia** has its usual classical sense of "lack of self-control."

**serviendum** (sc. *esse*) is impersonal, but the subject in the speaker's mind is *We Romans*. **feminae duobusque adolescentibus**, i.e. Livia and her grandsons Drusus and Germanicus—the former the son, the latter the nephew, of Tiberius.

**quandoque** : indef. *at some time or other*.

**Ch. 5. agitantibus** : abl. absolute, consisting of participle only, the subj. being inferred from the context, *while men were discussing*.

**seelus uxoris** : the absurd story was current that Augustus died through gathering and eating figs which had been poisoned by Livia while still growing.

**paucos ante menses** : the acc. is due to *ante* being a preposition. See S. G. § 326.

**vectum** (sc. *esse*) is predicate, *Augustus had sailed*.

**fore ut juvenis . . . redderetur** : a periphrasis for the fut. infinitive passive, *that the youth would be restored*. *reddo* has its usual signification of *giving back what is due*.

**gnarum** is usually active = *knowing*. Here and often in Tacitus it is passive = *notum*, known ; so *ignarus* = *ignotus*, unknown.

**dubium an quaesita morte** : *whether by a self-inflicted death is doubtful*. The clause is parenthetical, not being dependent on any word in the rest of the paragraph. For this late construction, cf. *codicilli, dubium ad quem scripti* (Quint. 7, 2, 52).



**fuisse**: the subj. is due to virtual oratio obliqua, *because (as she said) she had been*. S. G. § 487. The indicative *fuerat* would give the opinion of the historian himself.

**Illyricum** here denotes not simply the strip of land running along the eastern shore of the Adriatic, but Delmatia, Pannonia, Moesia, Rhoetia, and Noricum. Tiberius had only set out to take command of the legions a short time before the death of the emperor.

**properis**: active, *hurrying T., urgent*.

**apud urbem**: *apud* with designations of place usually means *near*. Here it denotes *in*, a signification which is found in the comic poets, and is frequent in the later writings of Tacitus. By an extension of usage it is employed with other names than those of places, e.g. *Aræ apud quas* (Ch. 61), *apud paludes* (Ch. 64).

**interdum** is equivalent to *per aliquod tempus, for some time, not from time to time*.

**nuntii**: *nuntius*, originally bearer of a message, courier, came to mean the message itself. Trans. *bulletins*.

**provisis**: sc. *iis*, the antecedent to *quæ*. The construction is abl. absolute.

**rerum potiri**: *was master of the state*.

**Neronem**: *i.e.* Tiberius, as in Ch. 3.

**Ch. 6. praescripisset**: virtual oratio obliqua "by which (as Tiberius declared) Augustus had ordered."

**custodiae adposito**: *placed over Agrippa as a guard, custodiae* being the predicate dative, denoting purpose, Gr. § 297. It is also possible to construe *placed in command of the guard*, where *custodiae* will be dat. of the indirect object.

**quandoque**: (= *quandocumque*) *whenever, as soon as*. For another meaning of the word see Ch. 4, end.

**duravit**: neuter, *steeled himself to*.

**propius vero**: *it is nearer the truth*. Roby notes that Cicero never, and Livy very rarely, have the dative with the adverbs *propius, proxime*. They prefer the acc., e.g. *esse propius periculum*. The sentence is in oratio obliqua after a verb of saying understood.

**centurioni**: governed by *respondit*.

**rationem reddendam**: a mercantile term, *that an account must be given*.

**juxta periculoso ficta seu vera promeret**: *as it was equally perilous whether the disclosures he made were false or true*. Here it is to be noted that (a) in this strange ablative absolute the neuter adj. *periculoso* is used as predicate with the sentence *ficta seu vera promeret* as subject; as a parallel instance take *incerto quid aut peterent aut vitarent* (Liv., XXVIII., 36); (b) *juxta* is used adverbially and modifies *periculoso*; (c) the omission of *seu* before *ficta* is poetical; cf., *tollere seu ponere vult freta* (Hor., *Od.* I., 3).

**ut non aliter ratio constet**: *that accounts will not balance*. *Ut non*, not *ne*, is employed because the sentence is consecutive, S. G.

§ 457. *ratio constat* is a term used in bookkeeping, *the account agrees, is correct.*

**Ch. 7. ruere** : historic infinitive.

**eques**: the name given to a class of citizens set apart for serving on juries by Caius Gracchus in B.C. 123, which occupied an intermediate position between the senate and the plebs. The qualifications for this *equestris ordo* were: (i) census of 400,000 sesterces; (ii) to be between 30 and 60 years of age; (iii) not to be a senator. Under Augustus three ranks were recognised: (i) *equites splendidi*, distinguished for their great wealth; (ii) *equites equo publico*; and (iii) ordinary equites.

**ne laeti**: *sc. essent*. The omission of the verb *sum* occurs frequently in Tacitus. He rarely, however, omits the subjunctive except when the sense can be readily supplied by a following verb in the same mood.

**primordio**: the commencement of Tiberius' reign.

**in verba juravere**: *swore obedience*. *jurare in verba Caesaris* literally means to swear to the form of words dictated by Caesar. The custom was originally a military one, in which the general's legate, the centurions and soldiers swore in succession to obey the commands of the emperor. *In acta Caesaris jurare* (Ch. 72) = to swear not to aim at the undoing of Caesar's measures. Cf. the oath to Saturninus' laws in B.C. 100.

**apud eos**: *in their presence*. The consuls after taking the oath administered it to the other officers and classes of the state.

**praetorium cohortium praefectus**: the *praetoriae cohortes*, nine or ten in number, each consisted of a thousand picked soldiers, who received double pay, and were especially attached to the service of the emperor. They were organized by Augustus, who stationed three out of the total number at Rome to protect his person and secure the fidelity of the capital. Seianus concentrated them all in cantonments just outside the city near the *Agger Servii*, A.D. 23.

**annonae praefectus**, was a permanent officer instituted by Augustus to superintend the corn market at Rome, and to see that the supply was equal to the demand. This command, like the praefectures of the Praetorian Guard, of the City, and of Egypt, was always held by a member of the *Equestris Ordo*.

**ambiguus imperandi**: cf. for this genitive *exitii certus* (Ch. 27).

**curiam**: the senate-house, called the *curia Julia* in honour of the Julian family and Augustus, by whom it was rebuilt when destroyed by fire.

**tribuniciae potestatis praescriptione**: *praescriptio* = a writing in front. Tiberius headed his edict "TI. CAESAR TRIBUNICIA POTESTATE SEXTUM DECIMUM DICIT.

**signum**: the watchword, which was originally inscribed on a square tablet called the *tessera*.

**excubiae**: *lit.* "a watching," is here concrete, denoting soldiers of the praetorian guard who acted as sentries at the palace.

**cetera aulae**: *the other tokens of a court.*

**adepto** : an instance of the perf. part. of the deponent *adipiscor* used passively, S. G. § 525.

**loqueretur** : this subjunctive of indefinite repetition is a mark of silver Latinity, Gr. § 481. Livy is the first writer who uses it with frequency. Cicero and Caesar would prefer the indicative *loquebatur*. It is found after *ubi* (Ch. 44), *ut quis* (Ch. 27).

**tot legiones** : eight legions quartered along the Rhine frontier.

**sociorum auxilia** : mostly cavalry and light-armed troops.

**dabat famae** : the full expression is *dabat aliquid famae*, he paid regard to public opinion.

**uxorium . . . senili**, refer to Livia and Augustus, respectively.

**inductam** : *was assumed*. The metaphor is theatrical ; cf. *personam inducere*, to bring a character on the stage.

**Ch. 8. passus** : understand *est*, which is inserted by some editors. But Tacitus is fond of strange omissions of the auxiliary verb ; see on *ne larti* (Ch. 7). The subject *Tiberius* must be supplied.

**virgines Vestae** : it was customary for security to place wills and important documents in the temples at Rome, especially in that of Vesta.

**nomen Augustum** : *and received the name of Augusta*. *Augustum* is an adjective, as in the expression *leges Augustae*.

**nepotes pronepotesque** : the grandsons were Drusus the younger and Germanicus, son and adopted son (also nephew) respectively of Tiberius ; the great-grandsons were the three sons of Germanicus—Nero, Drusus, and Caligula. See Genealogical Table (p. xix). Julia and Agrippa Postumus were passed over, the one for her licentious conduct, the other for his boorish manners. *Hist. Aug. and Tib.*, ch. vii., § 6.

**jactantia gloriaque** : *abl. with a view to display and to gain glory*. *Gloria* here denotes *desire of glory*. For this subjective use of what is properly an objective word, cf. *indignitas*, first, *unworthiness of treatment*, then *indignation*—that is, sense of such unworthiness.

**legata** : to be distinguished from *hereditas*, which fell to the *successores* (in this case Tiberius and Livia), and on which these legacies were a charge.

**civilis** : that which is becoming in a citizen (*civis*).

**populo et plebi** : the expression “leaving money to the *populus*” means that Augustus directed it to be paid into the *aerarium*, the state-chest. The sum he left to the *plebs* was distributed among the poorer members of the thirty-five tribes of citizens.

**quadringentiens triciens quinquiens** : with the multiplicative numeral adverbs used in expressions of money we have to supply *centena milia sestertium*. Gr. § 932. The sum is therefore  $435 \times 100,000$ —i.e. 43,500,000 sesterces ; and as a sesterce is worth rather more than twopenny, the equivalent in English money is approximately £350,000. According to Suetonius 40,000,000 went into the *aerarium*, while the *plebs* received the remaining 3,500,000—that is, 100,000 for each tribe.

**nummum**: the contracted genitive plural. A *nummus* is the same as *sestertius*, the full expression for which is *nummus sestertius*.  
 † Before *legionariis*, some editors, following Suetonius and Dio, insert *urbanis quingenos*, five hundred to each of the city soldiers. There were three of these urban cohorts at Rome in the reign of Tiberius. They were under the command of the *praefectus urbis*, and they ranked immediately after the praetorians, whom they assisted in keeping order within the walls of the city.

**cohortibus civium Romanorum**: these "cohorts composed of Roman citizens," were constituted like the cohorts of the legions, but differed from them in belonging to no particular legion.

**porta triumphali**: the only circumstance known of the topography of this gate is that it led to the Campus Martius, the low-lying meadow ground situated in a bend of the Tiber to the N.W. of the city.

**se mandante**: by command of Tiberius.

**remisit**: left the matter in their hands.

**funus divi Julii turbassent**: the public funeral which, despite Cassius' advice, was given to Caesar's remains, took place about a week after his murder, on March 15th, B.C. 44. The sight of his waxen image showing his twenty-three wounds, and the funeral eulogy of Antonius (reproduced in Shakspeare's *Julius Caesar*, Act III., Sc. 2), roused the people to burn his body in the Forum, and to attempt to plunder the houses of the Liberators.

**sede destinata**: Augustus had built a mausoleum for himself at the extreme north of the Campus Martius, and close by the Tiber.

**inidentibus**: sc. *iis*; for this abl. absolute, cf. *agitantibus* (Ch. 5).

**occisus dictator**: the death of the dictator; cf. *urbs condita*, the foundation of the city, *mortuus Caesar*, the death of Caesar.

**facinus**: deed, not crime, as the fact that it is qualified by *pulcherrimum* shows.

**Ch. 9. idem dies**: *a.d. XIV. kal. Sept.*, the 19th of August.

**princeps**: adj. acting as predicate to *dies*, was the first.

**numerus consulatuum**: Augustus was consul thirteen times in all, the first being at the end of B.C. 43. Between that year and B.C. 23 he held the office ten times. On then receiving the *tribunicia potestas*, together with a confirmation of his *proconsulare imperium*, he made little further claim to the consulship, enjoying it twice, and for a few days only. Valerius Corvus was consul six times in the course of the fifty years (348—299); the prophecy about the seven consulships of Marius, and how it was fulfilled, is well known.

**continuata**: lasting without break. As stated above, the *tribunicia potestas* was conferred on Augustus in B.C. 23. He retained it until his death in A.D. 14—a period of 36 years 2 months—and valued it so highly that he numbered from it the years of his rule. For its importance see note, Ch. 2.

**nomen imperatoris**: Augustus, as possessing the supreme *imperium* in the state, claimed as his own the victories which his officers gained, and on such occasions was saluted as *imperator* by the troops.



**alia honorum** : *other honours*. This use of the partitive genitive dependent on a neuter plural adjective is a mark of Tacitus' style. As an instance of such a genitive dependent on a neuter singular adjective, take *umido paludum* (Ch. 61).

**multiplicata aut nova** : the *tribunicia potestas*, for instance, was held without intermission, and was strange to the constitution.

**pietate** : "duty," whether towards relations or the gods. **parentem** : Julius Caesar, by whom he was adopted ; so *patris* below.

**pessum datus sit** : *plunged into ruin*. *Pessum*, from the root *ped*, is probably an acc. of *place whither* (analogous to *Romam*, to Rome), meaning "to the ground." Other etymologies which have been suggested are *pedis-vorsum*, "brought towards the feet," and *per-versum*.

**regno . . . dictatura** : Augustus did not follow the example of his great-uncle Julius Caesar, who was actually dictator, and who met his death largely through his efforts to gain the title of *rex*.

**mari Oceano** : for substantive equivalent to adjective, see note, *in domo regnatrice*, Ch. 4.

**amnis** : the Euphrates, Danube, and Rhine, beyond which the Romans rarely attempted to advance.

**modestiam apud socios** : for the improved condition of the subject states under the Empire, see *Hist. Aug. and Tib.*, Ch. VI.

**urbem** : the city, Rome. The emperor had restored eighty-two temples, built theatres, aqueducts, etc. He could boast with justice that he had found Rome of brick and left it of marble.

✓ **quo** : an instance of the use of this final particle with sentences not comparative, S. G. § 453.

**Ch. 10. tempora reipublicae** : *the emergencies of the state*. Cf. Cicero's use of *tempora* for his banishment and sufferings. **obtentui** : *as a mask* ; dat. of the predicate, S. G. § 297.

**ceterum** : almost equivalent to *re vera*, in reality. Here commences a review of the acts of Augustus' life which appeared most culpable to the opponents of the Empire. For their necessity see *Hist. Aug. and Tib.*, Ch. I.

**conciitos veteranos, paratum . . . exercitum** : shortly after landing at Brundisium early in April, in B.C. 44, Octavius began to sound the feelings of the veteran troops who had been settled by his great-uncle throughout Italy. Some soldiers at Calatia and Casilinum were the first to enrol themselves. Others followed, until the young Caesar had a force of 10,000 men at his command.

**corruptas consulis legiones** : the consul is M. Antonius, two of whose legions passed over to Octavius in the autumn of B.C. 44.

**Pompeianarum gratiam partium** : *attachment to the Pompeian party*. Pompeius had been the leader of the senate against Caesar (B.C. 52—48), and even after his death the party for which he had fought was called by his name, just as the opposite party were termed *Cæsariani* subsequent to the murder of the dictator. Octavius identified himself with the cause of the senate towards the



close of 44. He was invested with the title of praetor, and, on the advice of Cicero, entrusted with a command in the war against Antonius, now declared a public enemy.

**caesis Hirtio et Pansa** : H. and P., the two consuls for the year B.C. 43, both perished in the war of Mutina (end of April). The senatorial troops then put themselves at the orders of Octavius, who broke with the senate, and marched on Rome. In August 43 he demanded and obtained the consulship. This was followed by an interview with Antonius and Lepidus, near Bononia (end of October), in which a partition of the Roman dominions was agreed upon and proscription lists drawn up. The trio were formally recognised by the senate as *triumviri reipublicae constituendae* for five years at the end of November.

**abstulerat** : indic., though occurring in oratio obliqua. Tacitus, probably for the sake of vividness, is fond of using this mood in explanatory (especially relative) clauses in oratio obliqua. Examples are *qui fecere* (Ch. 10), *quae petiverant* (Ch. 36), *quae speraverat* (Ch. 53). The insinuation in the text seems perfectly baseless; but it certainly was a great stroke of luck. Merivale puts the story down to Antonius.

**invito senatu** : dative, S. G. § 292, *Obs.* 2. For the form, cf. *lusu* (dat.). After the battles of Mutina (April 27th, 43 B.C.) both Cicero and the senate slighted Octavius; hence this demand.

**ipsis** : dative of the agent, see note on *claris scriptoribus*, Ch. 1.

**Brutorum** : Marcus Junius Brutus, who committed suicide at Philippi, B.C. 42, and Decimus Brutus, put to death by Antonius, B.C. 43. See Index.

**Pompeium** : Sextus Pompeius, the younger son of Magnus.

**Tarentino Brundisinoque foedere** : the chronological order is inverted. The Treaty of Brundisium, signed in B.C. 40 by Octavius, Antonius, and Lepidus, effected a new division of the Roman world, by which Antonius was to have the provinces of the East, Octavius those of the West, and Lepidus, Africa. Antonius was also to join in crushing the rising power of Sextus Pompeius, and to marry the sister of Octavius. At the *Treaty of Tarentum*, three years later, Antonius agreed, in return for 20,000 legionaries for his Parthian war, to join in the war against Sextus Pompeius with 100 ships.

**Lollianas clades** : when Lollius was *legatus Caesaris* on the Lower Rhine in B.C. 16, he was attacked and defeated by a coalition of German tribes—Usipetes and Sugambri—who crossed the Rhine. The reverse, however, was of slight importance, as the invaders retired on the approach of Augustus. The *Variana clades* was a far more serious affair. See note on Ch. 3.

**Varrones, Egnatios, Iulos** : men like Varro, Egnatius, Iulus; the pl. is used as e.g. in "Every age has had its Caesars."

**Neroni** : for the dat. see S. G. § 292, *Obs.* 2. This was in B.C. 38.

**uxor** : this was Livia.

**gravis domui Caesarum** : the rumours of the time said that she

had caused the deaths of the young princes Gaius and Lucius Caesar to make way for her own son.

**templis et effigie** : ablatives of the instrument.

**comparatione deterrima** : a concise expression for "by a comparison with the worst successor he could find."

**paucis ante annis** : Tiberius thrice received the *tribunicia potestas*—in B.C. 6 and A.D. 4 and 13.

**honora** : *complimentary*, lit. "one that confers honour."

**habitu, cultu, institutis** : *carriage, dress, manners*. Suetonius, in his Life of Tiberius, mentions the stiff pose of his head, his severe look, his habitual silence, his formality in addressing his nearest friends. For a general estimate of his character see *Hist. Aug. and Tib.*, Ch. X.

**more** : *duly*, abl. of manner.

**Ch. 11. proinde** : *therefore*. When joined with *ac* it denotes *just as*.

**non** : the regular negative in sentences of prohibition is *ne* ; but *non* is here used because it negatives *ad unum*, not the entire clause (*non ad unum = ad plures*).

**fidei** : *sincerity*.

**occuleret** : the subj. is consecutive "things of such a nature that he did not conceal them."

**suspensa** : *hesitating*.

**in incertum et ambiguum** : *in intricacy and doubt*. Note the use of a neuter sing. adjective for an abstract substantive.

**effundi** : historic infinitive.

**libellum** : the *Breviarium*, or *Rationarium, Imperii* had been compiled by Augustus in his latter days from the recent geographical surveys and the copious statistics engraved on the copper-plates containing the *census* of Roman citizens and the *professions* of provincials. According to Dio Cassius not only was this document read before the senate, but also (1) Augustus' will ; (2) Augustus' life and works (as inscribed on the *Marmor Ancyranum*) ; (3) directions for Augustus' funeral ; (4) political treatise against extension of citizenship, excessive manumission, enlargement of the empire, and over centralization.

**quantum civium** : in B.C. 28, 4,000,000 against a tithe of that number in B.C. 70.

**classes** : two chief fleets—one at Misenum, the other at Ravenna—to command the Etruscan and Hadriatic seas respectively. **regna** : tributary states, e.g. Armenia and Cappadocia. **provinciae** : some thirty in number.

**tributa et vectigalia** : *taxes direct and indirect*. *Tributa* comprised poll taxes and property taxes : *vectigalia* custom duties, rents of public land, etc.

**necessitates** : fixed charges on the revenue, such as naval and military forces, public works. **largitiones** : largesses of corn, etc., bestowed on the people at the pleasure of the emperor. For a

commentary on these facts see Introduction, § 4, and *Hist. Aug. and Tib.*, Ch. V. and VI.

**incertum metu an per invidiam**: the grammatical points to be noticed are (a) that the clause is parenthetic and has no syntactical relation with the rest of the sentence (see note on *dubium an quarsita morte*, ch. 5); (b) the omission of *est*; (c) and of *utrum*; (d) Tacitean variation of construction evinced by the abl. and *per* with acc. equally used to denote cause (see note on *per acies*, Ch. 2). The way in which Tacitus speaks of the wise and prudent policy of Augustus to keep the unwieldy empire within manageable bounds is a good instance of the unfriendly bias with which he views all events connected with the early empire. Yet such caution may well have appeared misplaced to one writing in the midst of the conquests of Trajan. On the question of the best German frontier see *Hist. Aug. and Tib.*, Ch. VII., § 11.

**Ch. 12. forte**: in a casual way.

**ut . . . ita**: *although . . . yet*.

**reticuit**: like *reticentia*, is especially used of silence in giving no reply to a question.

**legere**: to "pick out or select" is the original meaning of the word, which came to mean "to read," because that process involved the picking-out of the letters.

**aliquid ex eo cui in universum excusari mallet**: *anything of that from which he would prefer to be wholly excused*. **cui**: for the case see S. G. § 292, *Obs.* 2.

**rursum**: this form alternates with *rursus* in the ante-classical period, disappears in prose of Cicero's time, and again makes its appearance in the silver age.

**vultu**: the expression of the face which changes from time to time, opposed to *facies*, the features which undergo no alteration.

**laudem**: the sing. probably denotes an expression of praise, referring to some particular action of Augustus.

**in toga**: in a civil capacity, the toga being emphatically the garb of peace. Cf. *cedant arma togae, concedat laurea linguae*.

**tanquam**: as though, as *Tiberius' impression was that . . .*

**ducta Vipsania**: abl. absolute. Tiberius had been compelled (B.C. 11) by Augustus to divorce Vipsania, whom he sincerely loved, and to marry in her place the emperor's daughter Julia. See *Hist. Index*.

**plus quam civilia**: designs which did not befit a *civis*, a subject.

**ferociam**: *haughty spirit; so ferocious*.

**Ch. 13. perinde**: *equally, in the same way*.

**Tiberio**: (sc. *erat*), dat. of the possessor.

**promptum**: *energetic*.

**artibus**: *qualities, accomplishments*. **publice**, though an adv., qualifies *fama*. Cf. *nullo publice emolumento* (Liv.). Trans. of *corresponding repute in his public capacity*.

**quinam adipisci principem locum suffecturi abnuerent** : "who would refuse to accept the first place in the state, though likely to prove equal to the discharge of its functions." *Principem* is adj., as in ch. 9; *suffecturi* is used absolutely.

**et minorem** : but too weak; for *et* = *sed*, cf. *senatus consultum atrox et irritum* (stern but ineffectual).

**perstrinxere** : ruffled. *Perstringere* literally means to graze the surface of a thing.

**relationi . . . ulum** : the motion of the consuls. *Relatio* is applied to any question brought before the house by the presiding magistrates, the consul, or praetor. *Consulere* or *habere senatum* are general terms : *referre ad senatum* is used of a particular motion. The word used to express the senate's wish is *censere*, as *jubere* expresses that of the *populus*, *scire* that of the *plebs*.

**intercessit** : tribune had the right of vetoing (*intercessio*) any motion proposed in the senate. Tiberius, of course, enjoyed this privilege in perpetuity by virtue of his *potestas tribunicia*.

**flexit** : yielded, intrans.

**Palatium** : the residence of the Princeps, so called from its situation on the Mons Palatinus.

**genua advolveretur** : Tacitus uses a simple accusative after many compound verbs, where a dative or repetition of the preposition with its appropriate case would be found in earlier writers. Cf. *elapsi vincula* (Ch. 61).

**an** : used as a disjunctive particle equivalent to *aut*.

**oraret** : the subj. is used, though the relation between the subordinate clause and the principal sentence is one of time rather than purpose. See note on *donce deterrerentur* (Ch. 1).

**curatissimis** : a superlative peculiar to Tacitus. Cf. *flagrantissimus* (Ch. 3).

**Ch. 14. parentem appellandum (esse)** : this acc. and infin., like the following *ut* clause, is dependent on *censebant*.

**ceterum** : in reality. See note, Ch. 10. **anxius invidia** : abl. of cause, racked with envy.

**muliebre fastigium** : the elevation of a woman. *Fastigium*, lit. the top of a gable, acquired the meaning of elevation, height, and then, as here, of high rank.

**aram adoptionis** : an altar in honour of her adoption into the Julian family. It appears that altars were occasionally erected in commemoration of an event.

**Germanico** : dat. *commodi*, for *Germanicus*.

**proconsulare imperium** : a proconsul had control over the forces, naval and military, and the revenue of his province. But his power, in addition to being confined to a particular region, only lasted for a year. The *proconsulare imperium* gave its holder the same kind of control as the proconsul enjoyed; but it might extend over several provinces, or even the whole empire, and lasted for many years, often for life.



**quo minus** : is dependent on *ea causa*—the reason why the same honour was not demanded for Drusus.

**designatus consul** : the consuls were elected by the *Comitia Centuriata* in the spring or summer : they entered upon their office on the 1st of January following. During this interval they were termed *consules designati*.

**nominavit** : Augustus controlled the election of magistrates (*a*) by *commendatio*, i.e., recommending some of the candidates to the tribes as men whom he desired to see returned ; (*b*) by *natio*, i.e., by using his right as president of the elections to nominate a list of candidates and to reject all other claims—i.e., technically speaking, to decide *utrum ratio haberetur*.

**Ch. 15. tum primum** : i.e., on the occasion of electing the praetors. **campo** : the *Campus Martius*, outside the city, where the *Comitia Centuriata*, originally a military, not a civic organization, were invariably held, whilst the *Comitia Tributa*, though often held there, usually met within the walls.

**ad patres** : to the senate. The change was not a sudden or violent one, since by the devices mentioned above the people had ceased to exercise much real choice in the election of magistrates. On the order of magistracies and their choice see note on Ch. 81.

**potissima** : the most important elections, i.e., to the consulship and the praetorship : for the quaestorship there were but two *candidati Caesaris* out of twenty.

**inani rumore** : in idle talk. The only thing the people really cared about was *panem et circenses*, bread and games.

**largitionibus** : bribes, largesses. Candidates for the magistracies above the quaestorship were members of the senate ; and this system of co-option relieved them from the expense of canvassing the people.

**commendaret** : see note on *nominavit*, Ch. 14. Furneaux notes that this practice of *commendatio* gave the senate "a mere *congé d'élire*."

**repulsa** : the technical term for a defeat in a contested election of magistrates. **ambitu** : lit. *canvassing*, often bears the meaning of *bribery, corrupt practices*. It thus differs from *ambitio*, which is rarely used in a bad sense, = *political jobbery*.

**designandos** : for the force of *designare* see note Ch. 14.

**fastis** : the almanac, or calendar, which showed the *dies fasti*, days on which the courts of justice were open, and the *dies nefasti*, on which they were closed.

**aerario** : the general treasury of the state, opposed to *fiscus*, the privy purse of the emperor.

**utque uterentur** : this is dependent on *decretum est* to be understood from *decreta*.

**triumphali veste** : the tribunes were to be permitted to wear the dress of a victorious general in the triumphal procession, i.e., an embroidered robe (*toga picta*) and an undergarment flowered with



palm leaves (*tunica palmata*), but the four-horse chariot (*quadriga*) customary on such occasions was prohibited.

**praetor** : the *praetor urbanus* was the praetor *qui ius inter cives dicit* : the *praetor peregrinus* decided suits between foreigners or between a foreigner and a citizen. The latter office was instituted at the close of the First Punic War (B.C. 243).

**evenisset** : sc. *sorte*. *Obvenire* is also used. The lot had been used to assign "provinces" ever since the establishment of a second praetor.

**Ch. 16. mutatus princeps** : the change of *Princeps* ; for the construction see note on *occrisus dictator*, Ch. 8. Note that (a) "there was no precedent for a bloodless revolution," and (b) the soldiery were beginning to be conscious of their supremacy—"sua in manu sitam rem Romanam," Ch. 31. *Hist. Aug. and Tib.*, Ch. VII., §§ 7-9.

**tres legiones** : these were the eighth (*Augusta*), ninth (*Hispana*), and fifteenth (*Apollinaris*). The entire military force of the Empire at this time numbered twenty-five legions, a force which, reckoning 5,000 men to the legion, amounted to about 125,000 men. *Introd.* § 4 (7).

**justitium** : (from *jus, sisto*), *lit.* "a suspension of business in the courts of law," then a "period of public mourning" (in this case for the death of Augustus).

**gaudium** : on account of the accession of the new emperor.

**lascivire** : hist. infinitive.

**dux theatralium operarum** : the leader of a band of theatrical *claqueurs*, who were hired to applaud or hiss a particular actor.

**gregarius miles** : a private soldier, one belonging to the common herd (*grex*).

**miscere** : this prolativ or epexegetic infinitive depending on *doctus*, "skilled to stir up assemblies to disorder," is a construction of Greek origin, frequent in Horace, but unknown to earlier prose.

**quaenam . . . condicio** : supply *foret*, subj. of indirect question depending on *ambigentes*, "doubting."

**Ch. 17. et : etiam.**

**velut contionabundus** : "as though haranguing a public assembly," "in the tone of a demagogue." A *contio* was much the same as our "public meeting."

**paucis centurionibus, paucioribus tribunis** : in the early empire the *legion* (= "division") was divided into ten *cohorts* (= "regiment"). Each cohort consisted of three *maniples* ; each manipule of two *centuries*. The three maniples consisted of *hastati*, *principes*, and *pilani* respectively, the *hastati* being the lowest, the *pilani* the highest, in rank. The cohorts also differed in rank, the first being the most honourable, the tenth the least. The officers of the legion were centurions and tribunes. To each century there belonged a centurion ; to each manipule consequently two ; and to the entire legion, sixty. They differed in rank, the least considerable being the

junior centurion of the hastati of the tenth cohort, the most important, and ranking next to the tribuni, the senior centurion of the pilani of the first cohort, called *primipilus* or *primi pili centurio*. He was entrusted with the care of the eagle of the legion, and had the right of attending the councils of the general. The tribunes of the legion were six in number: for their ranks see note on Ch. 81. Above them stood the *legatus*, the commander of the legion.

**quando ausuros** (sc. *esse*): oratio obliqua, continuing to the end of the chapter, dependent on *interrogabat*. The reported question is put into the infinitive and not into the subj., because it is a rhetorical one of the first person (direct *quando audebimus*), see S. G. § 469.

**stipendia**: years of military service, campaigns. *Stipendium* (for *stipendium*) lit. denotes pay.

**dimissis**: when discharged.

**apud vexillum tendentes**: encamped under a banner; supply with *tendentes, tentoria*. *Vexillum* was one of the less important banners carried by the legion, usually denoting that borne by the maniples or by the cavalry. *Vexillarii*, in its widest sense, was applied to any body of soldiers, horse or foot, serving under a *vexillum*, and might denote a detachment of legionaries, or of recruits not yet embodied in the legion (*vexilla tirnorum*). But it came to be applied in a special sense to those legionaries who were not disbanded on completing their term of service—fixed by Augustus, first at sixteen years, then at twenty years—but were placed under a flag by themselves. They were relieved from the harder duties of the camp, but were compelled to render aid when the emergencies of war demanded.

**alio vocabulo**: i.e. *vexillarii*.

**adhuc**: in addition. **diversas**: = *longinquas, distant, remote*.

**uligines paludum, inculta montium**: marshy swamps, mountainous wastes; both these genitives are characteristic of Tacitus, the first being a genitive of definition (as though Tacitus used *urbs Romae* instead of *urbs Roma*), the second an extension of the partitive genitive. See for the latter note on *alia honorum* (Ch. 9).

**denis assibus**: the *as* was equivalent to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  farthings. The total pay per annum was thus  $10 \times 360 = 3,600$  asses = 9 aurei—i.e. thrice the rate of pay (three *stipendia*) given in the second century B.C.

**vacationes munerum**: exemptions from duty.

**exercitas**: passed in the labours of war.

**iniretur**: *ineo*, though intrans., is found used personally in the passive.

**singulos denarios**: i.e. the soldiers wanted a rise from 10 to 16 asses.

**an**: used to introduce an indignant question. It implies that the opposite is ridiculous.

**urbanas excubias**: the guards of the capital.

**sibi**: for this dative of the agent (after *aspici*) see note on *claris scriptoribus*, Ch. 1.

Ch. 18. **detrita**: worn out, threadbare; the force of *de* is to the vanishing point.

**furoris** : partitive genitive, see S. G. § 271, *such a pitch of fury*.

**agitaverint** : for the use of the (aorist) perfect in historic sequence see note on *proiecerit*, Ch. 3.

**quaerebant** : *quisque* as usual takes a plural verb.

**aquilas** : the silver eagle (*aquila*) was the standard of the legion. The ensigns of the cohorts were denominated *signa*, and those of the maniple, *vexilla*.

**tribunal** : the *tribunal* of the camp was a platform made of turf (as here), or sometimes in a stationary camp (*stativa*) of stone. From it the general addressed the soldiers. The standards were then planted in front of it, and the army placed round it in order.

**properantibus** : either dat. governed by *advenit*, or abl. absolute, as they were bustling about.

**imbuite** : conveys the notion of earliness, priority. Cf. *sanguine bellum imbuat*, shed the first blood of battle (Verg.).

**legatum** : the commander of the legion. See note on *paucis centurionibus*, Ch. 17.

**Ch. 19. pectori usque** : = *ad pectus usque*, breast high; *pectori* is governed by *adcreverat*. The dative is poetical; cf. *advolutus pedibus* (Ch. 23), for *advolutus ad pedes*, flinging himself at the feet.

**multa dicendi arte** : not abl. of manner dependent on *ait*, but an abl. of quality (S. G. § 319), to be taken closely with *Blaesus*, a man of considerable oratorical skill. In ordinary prose *vir* would be added, thus *B. vir multa dicendi arte*, just as "the eloquent Blaesus" must be rendered *B. vir facundus*, not *B. facundus*.

**turbas** : *tumult*.

**divo** : of blessed memory, the epithet applied to an emperor after his apotheosis. It comes to mean little more than "the late Emperor."

**tenderent** : they were aiming at.

**coram** : adv., in their presence.

**ab sedecim annis** : after sixteen years.

**profecto iuvene** : abl. absolute, when the young man had departed.

**orator** : pleader, the original meaning of the word, from *oro*, I entreat.

**modestiam** : moderation, gentle means.

**Ch. 20. manipuli** : see note on *paucis centurionibus*, Ch. 17.

**Nauportum** : acc. of town to which. S. G. § 259.

**ob itinera** : i.e. to make and repair roads.

**turbatum** : sc. *esse*, is used impersonally, that there had been a mutiny.

**municipii instar** : like a *municipium*. Under the republic a *municipium* denoted a city, the inhabitants of which enjoyed all the privileges of Roman citizens with the exception of the right of voting and holding office. Under the Empire it is used synonymously with *colonia*. *Municipia* were usually governed by popularly elected *duumviri*, assisted by a senate (*decuriones*, *senatores*, or *conscripti*).

**retinentis** : acc. plur. agreeing with *centuriones*, who endeavoured to restrain.

**praefectum castrorum** : this officer is first mentioned in the reign of Augustus. He was usually selected from the centurions who had seen most service. Even when a camp was occupied by more than one legion there was only one *praefectus*. Amongst his duties were those of attending to matters connected with the making of the camp, such as constructing the *rallum* and *fossa*.

**vetus operis ac laboris** : *inured to work and toil*. *Operis* and *laboris* are genitives of the thing in point of which, a poetical construction borrowed from the Greek.

**Ch. 21. circumjecta** : *sc. loca, the surrounding country*.

**carcere** : a place for imprisoning refractory soldiers was common to all stationary camps.

**parebatur** : impersonal. S. G. § 291, *Obs.* 1. *Obedience was shown*.

**optimo quoque** : *lit. "by each best," hence by all the best*.

**obniti** : hist. infinitive.

**ciere** : *called out*. The ordinary meaning of *ciere* is *to stir up, set in motion*; but Livy uses it for *to mention by name*, e.g., *triumphum nomine ciere*, to call *Io triumphe*.

**reliqui** : partitive genitive. S. G. § 270.

**quo minus** : instead of *quin*, as in *nec defuit quo minus incederet* (xiv. 39). For the converse irregularity of *quin* = *quominus*, cf. *quin ultra bellum proferret, morte prohibitus est* (XIV. 29). S. G. §§ 461—463.

**rerum capitalium damnatos** : *men convicted of capital charges*. For the genitive see S. G. § 280. It is usually explained by supposing an ellipsis of *crimine*.

**Ch. 22. seditioni duces** : the genitive would be more usual after the substantive *duces*. For the dative, cf. *subsidia dominationi*, Ch. 3, note.

**reddit** : the present is used vividly for the future "will restore."

**de communibus commodis** : *in the interests of our common weal*.

**ingulavit** : the subject is *Blaesus*, understood.

**gladiatores** : it was usual for governors, like Blaesus, to have gladiators in their pay for the purpose of gratifying the provincials with shows.

**in exitium** : *for the purpose of destroying*.

**sepultura invident** : *grudge burial*. The Ciceronian usage is the dat. of person or thing (e.g. *invidere virtuti*); but Livy construes with dat. of person and abl. of thing. *Non inviderunt laude sua mulieribus viri Romani*, the transition from which to the simple abl. of the present passage is easy.

**dum** : "provided that." S. G. § 498.

**hi** : the comrades who surround me.

**Ch. 23. invidiae** : *odium, indignation* against the general. There is always a notion of unfairness prevalent in the word,



**e servitio Blaesi erant** : *belonged to the number of Blaesus' slaves.* *Servitium*, usually abstract = *state of slavery*, is here concrete for *slaves*. So *amicitia* = friends, *consilia* = advisers, *matrimonia* = wives.

**familiam** : "in its widest sense *familia* comprehends all that is subjected to the will of an individual who is *sui juris*—both free persons, slaves and objects of property" (Long). It may also mean any one of these three—here obviously the second. *Familia* is also used of a philosophical sect or body of gladiators.

**vincirent** : plur., because *pars* is a collective noun denoting plurality. S. G. § 222. Still Latin usage prefers a singular verb in such cases.

**corpus ullum reperiri** : acc. and infin. dependent on *pernotuisset*.

**aberant** : the strict form of conditional sentence would be *ni pernotuisset . . . abfuissent*. The indicative is used in the apodosis to put the matter vividly before the reader, *they were not far* instead of *they would not have been far*; cf. in prose *labebat longius nisi me retinuissim* (Cic.), and in poetry *et si non alium late jactaret odorem, laurus erat* (Verg.).

**vocabulum** : *nickname, soubriquet*.

**cedo alterum** : *hand me another*. *Cedo* is an old imperative meaning *give here*.

**vite** : the *vitis* was the centurion's staff, made of a vine-branch. It was used for the punishment of soldiers who were also Roman citizens, the *fustis* being reserved for such of the troops as did not enjoy the franchise.

**perferendis mandatis** : the dat. gerund. with *idoneus* is a late construction = *ad mandata perferenda*.

**parabant, ni interiecisset** : for the indic. in the apodosis, combined with subj. in the protasis, see note on *aberant* above.

**Sirpicum** : perhaps the real name of the centurion, though *Sirpicus* is only found here. Others explain as a nickname derived from *scirpus* or *sirpus*, a bulrush, since he flogged his men with ropes made from bulrushes.

**illa** : the former (legion), the eighth.

**morti deposcit** : *demanded in order to put him to death*. *Morti* is a dative of the work contemplated; cf. *receptui canere*, *to sound the trumpet for a retreat*.

**miles nonanus** : the soldiery of the ninth legion.

**aspernantis** : acc. plur., governed by *adversus*.

**Ch. 24. abstrusum** : *close, reserved*.

**ex re consulturum** : *he was to take his measures according to circumstances*. *Consulturum*, agreeing with *filium*, is the future participle expressing purpose.

**supra solitum** : *beyond what was usual*. Note this use of the perf. part.

**praetoriani equitis** : the contingent of cavalry attached to the nine (or ten) praetorian cohorts.



**tum** : they had ceased to belong to the body-guard of the Emperor by the time of Tacitus.

**praetorii** : gen. of *praetorium*, a collective designation for the *cohortes praetoriae*. The dative also occurs *praefectus praetorio*.

**inveni** : for the dative instead of genitive in dependence on another substantive, see note on *subsidia dominationi* (Ch. 3).

**ceteris** : the praetorian cohorts.

**insignibus fulgentes** : personal decorations of the soldiers, such as crowns and medals.

**imitarentur** : for the subj. with *quanquam*, see on *esset*, Ch. 3.

**Ch. 25. vallum** : properly the palisade which ran along the outer edge of the rampart (*agger*), but frequently including the latter, which consisted of the earth thrown up from the *fossa* or ditch.

**firmant** : "the mutinous legions" is subject. When Drusus entered the camp he left his cohorts outside.

**stationibus** : pickets.

**bella** : Tiberius was engaged in quelling Pannonian insurrections B.C. 12-9 and A.D. 6-9. See Hist. Index.

**patres** : the senate.

**quem neque gratiae . . . par esset** : *which it was right should not be considered as without a share in either indulgence or severity.*

**Ch. 26. contione** : the assembly of soldiers.

**mandata** : sc. *esse*, oratio obliqua dependent on *responsum est*.

**is** : the centurion Clemens.

**sub vexillo** : he demanded that they should be transferred to colonies as soon as their term of service—which was not to exceed sixteen years—had expired.

**obtenderet** : *pleaded in excuse*. The word literally means *to place something before one as a protection*.

**augendis stipendiis** : this dat. of the gerundive, equivalent to a final clause, is Tacitean. Cf. *perferendis mandatis*, Ch. 23.

**licentia** : *power, liberty*.

**id** : is explained by the clause *quod imperator . . . reiciat*.

**sola militis commoda** : the senators had no sort of control over the army, but Tiberius occasionally consulted them on military matters, sometimes to gratify them by a show of respect, at others to make them share in the odium of unpopular measures. Tiberius was very jealous of his military power ; cf. *Ann.*, VI., 3, where he asks a senator—*Quid illi cum militibus?*

**sine arbitro** : *without an arbitrator to appeal to*.

**Ch. 27. praetorianorum militum** : Drusus appears to have entered the camp with some portion of his escort.

**occurreret** : the subjunctive of indefinite repetition, for which see note on *nusquam cunctabundus, nisi cum in senatu loqueretur*, Ch. 7.

**causam discordiae** : this accusative is in apposition to the pre-

ceding clause, *manus intentantes*. For the construction cf. *Eumenem prodidere Antiocho, pacis mercedem*.

**illa militiae flagitia** : these breaches of military discipline.

**digredientem cum Caesare** : the best explanation of this sentence seems to be that Lentulus, attended by Drusus (*cum Caesare*), was leaving for the winter camp (*hiberna castra*). When near the gate Lentulus was attacked by the mutineers, but protected by the soldiers of Drusus, who had remained outside the camp, and now rushed in to his assistance. The sentence is sometimes explained as *parting with Caesar*, on the analogy of *dissidere cum aliquo*, to differ from a man.

**exitus certus** : certain of destruction ; for the genitive cf. *ambiguus imperandi* (Ch. 7). Vergil uses *certus ire* and *certus cundi* within a few lines of one another (*Aen.*, IV.)

**Ch. 28. languescere** : grow dim. The eclipse took place in the early morning of Sept. 26, A.D. 14.

**rationis ignarus** : educated Romans, however, were acquainted with the cause of eclipses, and they are correctly explained by Lucretius and Cicero.

**cessura** : acc. and infin., dependent on a verb of saying implied in *adsimulans*, would turn out.

**tubarum, cornuum** : the *tuba* was a straight trumpet, while the *cornu* was curved.

**strepere** : hist. infin.

**prout** : according as, in proportion as.

**creditum** : impers., it was believed.

**conditam** : supply *lunam*.

**utendum** : sc. *esse*, depends on *ratus*, thinking that use ought to be made of.

**vigiliis stationibus, custodiis portarum** : *vigiliae*, patrols on duty during the night only ; *stationes*, bodies of pickets, on duty during both day and night ; *custodiae portarum* were a division of the *stationes*, but were restricted to the charge of the gates.

**Percennione** : the *ne* is the enclitic interrogative particle, S. G. § 410.

**emeritis** : an *emeritus* was a soldier who had served his full term of years.

**pro Neronibus et Drusis** : in the place of men like Nero (i.e. Tiberius) and Drusus. For the plur. see note on *Varrones*, Ch. 10.

**capessent** : the subject is *Percennius et Vibulenus*, to be supplied from the preceding sentence.

**quin potius . . . sumus** : *quin* (*qui*, *ne*, why not ?) is used with the first person of the indicative tenses to introduce urgent entreaty or advice. Cf. *quin consecendimus equos* ? (Liv. I. 57), "why not mount our horses ?" with the second person it may express peremptory command, cf. *quin tu vivo perfunderis flumine* ? (Liv., I., 45), "Go and wash yourself in the running stream." Translate here : "Why rather are we not the first to repent as we were the last to offend ?"

**quae in commune expostulantur** : *demands made in common.*

**mereare, recipias** : instances of the potential subjunctive, *i.e.* conditional sentences with the protasis suppressed : "You may earn (if you wish to do so), you may receive."

**tironem** : usually *the recruits*, here apparently soldiers of all degrees of standing with the exception of veterans.

**suas in sedes** : "to their proper position." The *signa* and *verilla* (note, Cf. 18) were again planted in that part of the camp where their cohorts and maniples were stationed.

**Ch. 29. rudis dicendi** : *unskilled at speaking* ; for the genitive see S. G. § 276.

**orantibus** : abl. abs. ; supply, as subject *militibus*, understood from *legionum* in the preceding clause.

**idem Blaesus** : the younger Blaesus, the son of the legate.

**e cohorte** : the suite of Drusus, composed of chosen *primores civitatis, amici Caesaris*, and young nobles. The name *comites* was also applied to them.

**primi ordinis centurio** : for the precise rank of this centurion see note on Ch. 17.

**certatum** : *sc. est, there was a conflict.*

**legatos** : *the envoys.*

**adiciendos ex duce metus** : principal sentence in oratio obliqua, *terror should be applied by their leader.* The following abl. absolute is one of the instrument.

**ingenium Druso** : the dative expresses possession, *the disposition of Drusus.*

**obrutos** : *sc. esse, buried.*

**extra vallum** : the usual place for carrying out a capital sentence pronounced against a soldier.

**ostentui** : predicative dative denoting purpose. S. G. § 297.

**Ch. 30. palantes, caesi** (*sc. sunt*) : plural, because *pars*, to which they refer, contains a plural idea. Such a construction is termed Synesis. **documentum fidei** : *as a proof of their loyalty*, the acc. is in apposition to the clause *quosdam ipsi manipuli tradidere.* See note on *causam discordiae* (Ch. 27).

**egredi tentoria** : *leave their tents.* *Egredi* followed by an acc. in classical Latin usually means *to go beyond a certain limit.*

**tutari** : *be kept upright.* That a standard should be blown down was naturally an evil omen. It was said that this mishap befel the ill-fated Parthian expedition of Crassus (B.C. 53).

**nec frustra . . . tempestates** : these acc. and infinitive clauses are dependent on the verbal notion contained in *formido*, "they said in fear." *Frustra*, at first = *without effect, in vain*, comes to mean *without cause, groundlessly.*

**hebescere** : *grew pale.*

**piaculo** : *piaculum* denotes (1) guilt, (2) the expiatory sacrifice by which that guilt is removed. Here the word has the former meaning.

**hibernis** : sc. *castris*, to their winter quarters.

**epistulas** : *letter*. Cicero uses either *epistula* (sing.) or *litterae* (plur.), not *epistulae* (plur.).

**desolatus** : *isolated*.

**considerant** : plupf. of *consido* ; v.l. *consederant*.

**urbem** : *i.e.* Rome.

**Ch. 31. Germanicae legiones** : the mutiny, related in this and the following chapters, broke out in the two provinces Germania Superior and Inferior, situated on the *left* bank of the Rhine. The frontier was here defended by eight legions, of which four, the second (named *Augusta*), the thirteenth (*Gemina*), the fourteenth (*Gemina Martia Victrix*) and the sixteenth (*Gallica*) were quartered in Germania Superior ; and the remaining four, the first (*Germanica*), the fifth (*Alauda*), the twentieth (*Valeria Victrix*), and the twenty-first (*Rapax*) occupied the lower province.

**alterius** : his uncle, Tiberius.

**vi sua cuncta tracturis** : *who would bring over the whole empire to him by their strength*. *Tracturis* = *quae traherent* ; *sua* abl. agreeing with *vi* ; *cuncta* object of *tracturis*.

**agendo censui** : dat. of work contemplated. The census was taken for the purpose of levying in an equitable manner the tribute of forty millions of sesterces which the Gauls were adjudged to furnish to the revenue of the empire.

**alienae** : that in Pannonia.

**isdem aestivis** : sc. *castris*, in the same summer camp.

**tractis** : abl. abs., being drawn into the rebellion.

**vernacula multitudo** : *mob of slaves*, *vernaculus* being the adjective of *verna*, a slave born in his master's house. The levy alluded to was held in A.D. 10, the year after the Varian disaster. So great was the reluctance of citizens to serve that Augustus filled his legions with manumitted slaves and freedmen.

**implere** : hist. infin. *poisoned*. Cf. with this the use of Gk. *πίμπλημι*.

**ora** : *looks*.

**in suum cognomentum adscisci imperatores** : *emperors assumed their titles from them* ; a reference to the fact that the elder Drusus received the surname Germanicus, which he handed down to his son, the present commander of the legions. Tiberius himself took from time to time this appellation.

**Ch. 32. obviam ibat** : *attempted to quell the mutiny*.

**lymphati** : *seized with madness*. *lympa* is another form of *nympha*, a word denoting generally all goddesses of fertilizing moisture, and especially of those springs the waters of which led to intoxication. Hence persons in a state of frenzy were said to be caught by the nymphs, Gk. *νυμφολήπτος*, Lat. *lymphatus*.

**numerus adaequarent** : there were sixty centurions to each legion (see note on Ch. 17), and the soldiers in revenge for their legion being



beaten by sixty centurions set sixty of their number to beat each centurion.

**convulsus** : "not torn from the ground" but "torn in pieces," *with limbs dislocated*. **partim** : equivalent to a substantive, *some of them*, not an adverb, *partly*.

**dederetur** : there is a notion of purpose in the clause, and the subj. is appropriate. For an instance where the subj. is loosely used after *donec*, see on *oraret* Ch. 13.

**Gai Caesaris** : Caligula, the son of Germanicus, and emperor from B.C. 37 to 41.

**animi ferox** : *animi* is probably the locative "at heart." The only circumstance which supports the view that *animi* is gen. of thing in point of which (cf. *occultus odii*), is that the locative is usually found in connection with verbs, not with adjectives. Still in such phrases as *animi pendeo*, *diserucior*, it is undoubtedly the locative, and its use with adjectives may be due to analogy.

**ius obtinuit** : *maintained his authority*.

**si qua alia** : neut. plur.

**militares animos altius coniectantibus** : *to those who estimated more profoundly the temper of soldiers*.

**pariter** : = *simul*, *all together*, *like one man*.

**crederes** : the potential subj., for which see S. G. § 429, "you would suppose (sc. if you had seen them)."

**Ch. 33. census accipienti** : *engaged in receiving the schedules of property*. The person making such a return was said *censum deferre*.

**neptem** : *granddaughter*, never in classical Latin *niece*. For the relationship see Genealogical Table, Introduction, § 6.

**anxius** : *passive, harassed*.

**rerum potitus foret** : *if he had obtained power*.

**libertatem** : the republican constitution.

**iuveni** : sc. *erat*, possessive dative.

**adrogantibus et obscuris** : plur., because the adjectives refer to the double substantival expression, *sermone*, *vultu*.

**novercalibus stimulis** : *n.* is inaccurate, as Livia was the grandmother of Agrippina's husband.

**nisi quod . . . vertebat** : "only that owing to her purity and love for her husband she turned to good a mind otherwise unbridled."

**Ch. 34. seque et proximos . . . adigit** : "he caused himself and those next to him in rank and the states of the Belgae to swear allegiance to the Emperor." Germanicus, as the representative of the Emperor, administered the oath of allegiance first to himself, then to the higher officials (*proximos*), and to representatives of the Belgic provinces.

† Other readings are *Sequanos proximos et* (the neighbouring Sequani and), or *Sequanos, proximas et Belgarum civitates*.

**obvias habuit** : *met them*. *Obvias* is adj. agreeing with *legiones* to be supplied from *legionum*.



**audiri coepere** : Tacitus does not observe the rule of using the passive tenses of *coepi* when that verb governs a passive infinitive. See S. G. § 113, IV., *Obs.* 1.

**sic melius audituros responsum** : sc. *est a militibus*, "it was replied that they would hear better as they were."

**Ch. 35: quonam** : *whither* ; *nam* denotes emotion in the questioner. **indiscretis** : *confused*, that which cannot be distinguished (*discerno*).

**pretia vacationum** : the bribes they had to give the centurions in order to procure exemption from military tasks.

**propriis nominibus** : *specifically*. They had previously complained in general terms ; they now point out the particular tasks which distressed them most.

**pabuli materiae lignorum** : all three genitives depend on *adgestus*. *Materia*, timber for building purposes ; *lignum*, firewood.

**adversus otium castrorum** : *to counteract idleness in the camp*. A general, for instance, might set his soldiers to work at making roads, bridges, etc.

**mederetur** : jussive subj. dependent on *orabant*. **mortem** is apparently object of *orabant*, like *finem* and *requiem*.

**neque inopem requiem** : the negative must be joined to the adjective. Trans. "a retirement without destitution."

**promptos ostentavere** : "they showed that they were ready to help him," but the construction is harsh, and it has been proposed to insert *se* after *promptos*, or to change *promptos* into *promptas res*, "pointed out that the means were at hand."

**deferabat . . . attinuissent** : for the indicative in apodosis see on *aberant, ni pernotuisset*, Ch. 23.

**addito** : ablative absolute, the subject being *acutiorem esse*, lit. "the words) this is sharper, being added" (cf. Ch. 46).

**mali moris** : gen. of quality.

**raperetur** : consecutive subj.

**Ch. 36. superiorem** : the forces in Germania Superior. See on Ch. 31.

**Ubiurum oppidum** : the capital of the Ubii. In after times it received the name of *Colonia Agrippensis*, whence the modern Cologne.

**gnarus hostis** : *the fact that the enemy was aware*.

**auxilia** : auxiliary troops actually with the army.

**socii** : allies liable to service if called upon.

**concedentur** : the form of speech changes from the oblique to the direct, hence the indicative.

**epistulae** : "a letter ;" for the plur. see on Ch. 30.

**exactorari** : *auctoror*, = *to hire oneself out for a service, to bind oneself to*, and is particularly used in reference to gladiators who swore *in verba magistri*. *Exactoror* denotes the process of reversal, *to secure one's freedom from a contract*.

**legata** : *the legacies*, 300 sesterces to each soldier.

**Ch. 37. in tempus :** *to meet the crisis.*

**differebatur :** imperf. denoting attempt. Germanicus hoped to put off payment.

**ex viatico :** *private resources, savings.* In Hor., *Ep.* II., 2, 26, it denotes *prize money*.

**Caesaris :** Germanicus.

**fisci :** the money-bags of the legions. The term is appropriate as the military forces were paid out of the privy purse (*fiscus*) of the emperor.

**signa :** the banners of the cohorts.

**aquilae :** the eagles of the legions. It was customary for soldiers to deposit their money with the standard-bearers (*signiferi*) for safety.

**Ch. 38. praesidium agitantes :** "engaged in garrison duty." So *agitare custodium*, to keep guard.

**paulum :** "for a time."

**quam concessio jure :** *than by any authority granted him.* Properly, no officers below the tribunes had the power of life and death.

**non praefectum . . . violari :** the words of M. Ennius in *oratio obliqua*.

**turbidos et nihil ausos :** *disaffected but daring nothing ; et* is equivalent to *sed* ; see note on *et minorem*, Ch. 13.

**Ch. 39. legati ab senatu :** the mission is mentioned in Ch. 14.

**missi sub vexillo :** a pregnant expression for *missi sunt et sub vexillo retenti*.

**qui inrita facerent :** consecutive subj., "persons of such a character that they would make void."

**quamvis falsis reum subdere :** *to accuse some one of charges, however false.*

**nocte concubia :** lit., *in the first sleep of night.* *Concubius*, in the first sleep, is an adjective which only occurs in connection with *nox* : e.g. *noctu concubia*, *nocte in concubia*. So *concubium* subst. is that part of the night on which the first sleep falls upon men.

**vexillum :** this may have been either (a) the red flag of the commander-in-chief, which was used to give the signal for battle or march ; the demand of the soldiery would in this case be tantamount to a refusal to recognise any longer his authority ; or (b) as Nippenley suggests, it was the *vexillum* of the veterans, from whom it was kept by Germanicus, and who demanded it as a pledge that their newly-gained discharge would not be countermanded.

**extractum :** not dragged from his bed by violence, but forced to rise on account of the tumult.

**dignitas :** *rank.*

**castra primae legionis :** as a rule, each legion had its own *castra hiberna*.

**religio :** the *signa* and *aquila* were revered as sacred by the soldiers.

**rarum etiam inter hostes** : parenthetic.

✓ **perduci . . . Plancum imperat** : obs. the construction (like *jubeo*); usually the dative and *ut* is used.

**fatalem** : "fated," "sent upon them by the gods."

✓ **neque militum . . . ira resurgere** : oratio obliqua dependent on the notion of saying comprised in *increpans*. The subject of the infinitive *resurgere* is *rabiem*, to be supplied, and *ira* is abl. Trans. "which (madness) was rising again not by the anger of the soldiers but of the gods."

**ius legationis** : the inviolable privileges of ambassadors.

**attonita** : *confounded*.

**Ch. 40. arguere** : hist. infin., the subject of which is *omnes*.

**peccatum** : sc. *esse*, in oratio obliqua.

**avo** : Tiberius, who had adopted Germanicus.

**redderet** : subj. of exhortation in orat. obliqua. S. G. § 470. In direct speech *redde*.

**uxorem** : obj. of *perpulit*.

**Augusto ortam** : she was the daughter of Julia, and so granddaughter of Augustus. See Genealogical Table, Introduction, § 6.

**Ch. 41. florentis Caesaris** : gen. dependent on *facies*. Translate, "Caesar appeared not as if triumphant."

**contuberniis** : "from their tents." The abl. without a preposition to denote *place whence* is Tacitean. For this construction with names of countries, cf. *remeantem Armenia* (Ch. 3).

**ad tutelam** : "to act as an escort." The construction changes to oratio obliqua, giving the exclamations of the soldiers.

**ad Treveros externae fidei** : the gen. is one of description, dependent on *homines* or *gentem* in apposition to *Treveros*. Cf. the similar usage of the abl. in *multa dicendi arte* (Ch. 19). The expression literally is *to the Treveri, men of foreign allegiance*. Nipperdey emends to *ad Treveros et externam fidem*, "to the Treveri and to the protection of foreigners."

**Caligulam** : the diminutive of *cālga*, a soldier's boot.

**rediret, maneret** : subj. of indirect exhortation. S. G. § 470.

**recens dolore et ira** : *in the freshness of his indignation and anger*. Cf. *recens victoria*, "fresh from his victory."

**Ch. 42. liberos** : the plural cannot be taken literally, since Caligula was the only child of Germanicus with the army, the other two, Drusus and Nero, having been left at Rome.

**sceleris** : partitive genitive.

**occisus pronepos** : *the slaughter of a great-grandson*, referring, of course, to Caligula. For the construction see on *occisus dictator* (Ch. 8).

**vobis** : dative of the agent, *by you*.

**appellem** : dubitative subj., *am I to call*.

**an civis**: the second alternative of a double direct question, the first being *militescne appellem*. S. G. § 414.

**hostium ius**: *rights due even to foes*. These were defined in the *ius feciale*, part of the *ius gentium*. What was in accordance with the sacred part either of this or of the *ius civile* (in that case called *ius pontificium* or *sacrum*) was labelled *fas*; hence the expression here *fas gentium*.

**Quirites**: this term—said originally to be derived from *curis*, or *quiris*, a spear, and so meaning “the spearmen,” came to denote the Roman people in a civil capacity. The expression was equivalent to an order to disband. The incident is usually said to have occurred in B.C. 47, shortly before Caesar's expedition to Africa and the battle of Thapsus.

**Actiacas legiones**: *the legions which had conquered at Actium*. After the battle the veterans were landed at Brundisium. While Augustus was passing the winter at Samos, they broke out into mutiny, but returned to their allegiance on the arrival of the emperor.

**ut . . . ita**: *although . . . yet*.

**aspernaretur . . . erat**: “if the soldiery should despise me, it would be . . .” For the indicative in apodosis see on Ch. 23. The argument of Germanicus is that the legions of Spain and Syria, who had never served under him, would be acting in a shameful manner if they mutinied against him. How much more disgraceful, then, was it that the soldiers whom he had led for so many years should prove unfaithful?

**illa**: refers to the former of the two—the first legion.

**Ch. 43. melius et amantius**: supply *fecit*, *ille* is the subject.

**Vari**: genitive depending on *mortem*, understood.

**istud**: explained by *subvenisse Romano nomini*.

**caelo**: local, *in heaven*.

**memoria cum militibus**: *your memory acting in conjunction with*.

**eluant**: subj. expressing a wish.

**iras civiles**: wrath of citizen against citizen.

**alia**: predicate, *whose demeanour I see is now other than it was*.

**dividite turbidos**: *separate the mutineers from you*.

**Ch. 44. puniret**: hortatory subj. dependent on *orabant*.

**alumnus**: Caligula.

**neve**: = *neque*.

**venturum**: sc. *esse* in oratio obliqua, dependent on a verb of saying implied in *excusavit*.

**stant pro contione legiones**: probably “the legions stood after the manner of an assembly,” i.e. not in strict military order. Other renderings are, “took their stand before the assembly;” to this it may be objected that the soldiers were themselves the assembly; or “in front of the tribunal,” a version which assumes that the tribunal was occasionally called *contio*.



**in suggestu** : on the platform, the *tribunal*.

**semet** : acc., strengthened for *se*.

**secuti exemplum veterani mittuntur** : "the veterans after following the example were sent."

**ceterum** : contrasted with *specie*. As in Ch. 10, it is equivalent to *re ipsa*, in reality.

**castris** : dative. S. G. § 292, *Obs.* 2.

**centurionatum egit** : held an election of centurions. *C.* literally means the office of a centurion, and it is difficult to see how it can acquire the signification of the text. The passage is perhaps corrupt.

**ordinem** : his rank, which might be anything between the junior centurionship of the tenth cohort and the position of *primipilus*. See on Ch. 17.

**dona militaria** : decorations.

**solvebatur militia** : he was cashiered. The *ignominia missio*, discharge with disgrace, opposed to the *missio honesta*, discharge with honour.

**Ch. 45. lapidem** : milestone, sixty Roman miles distant from the capital of the Ubii.

**Ch. 46. cognito** : abl. absolute, predicate to *qui fuisset exitus in Illyrico*. Cf. *addito*, Ch. 35.

**trepida** : lit. "hurrying to and fro in confusion," excited.

**invalida et inermia** : these neuter plurals are in apposition to *patres et plebem*. Cf. *parentes liberos fratres vilia habere* (*Hist.*, V., 5), to hold as worthless things.

**cunctatione ficta** : hypocritical irresolution, referring to his unwillingness to assume the reins of government on the death of Augustus.

**ipsum debuisse** : oratio obliqua.

**cessuris** : to (*mutineers*) who would be sure to yield. Cf. the force of *certaturus bello* (Ch. 45), with the intention of taking active measures.

**longa experientia** : abl. of quality. See on *multa dicendi arte* (Ch. 8).

**severitatis summum** : supreme with regard to punishments, gen. of the thing in respect of which.

**in Germanias** : the two provinces, Upper and Lower Germany.

**satis prospectum** : impersonal, adequate provision had been made for.

**Ch. 47. immotum fixumque Tiberio fuit** : lit. "it was immovable and fixed to T.," i.e. the purpose of Tiberius remained immovable and fixed; the expression is borrowed from *Aeneid*, IV., 15, *Si mihi non animo fixum immotumque sederet*.

**caput rerum** : the capital of the Empire.

**ille, hic** : the former . . . the latter. S. G. § 366.

**quos** : which of the two; *uter* would be more correct than *quis*; but



cf. *quis* (*Pompeius an Caesar*) *justius induit arma, scire nefus; magno se iudice quisque tuetur* (Lucan).

**anteferret**: dubitative subj. in oratio obliqua, direct speech being *anteferam*.

**ac ne postpositi contumelia incenderetur**: this depends on a verb of fearing (*verebatur*) to be supplied from *angebant*, "he was afraid lest those he visited second should be incensed by the insult."

**excusatum**: *excusable, pardonable*.

**ut iturus**: *as though on the point of departure*. This imitation of the Greek ὡς and participle is not common in other Latin authors than Tacitus.

**adornavit**: *equipped*.

**causatus**: from deponent *causor*, *pleading as an excuse*.

**vulgum**: as a rule *vulgus* is neuter.

**Ch. 48. dandum adhuc spatium**: *sc. esse*, acc. and infin. clause governed by *ratus*.

**si**: *to see whether*.

**recenti exemplo**: the precedent of punishing the mutineers which had been set at Ara Ubiorum (Ch. 44).

**quod maxime castrorum sincerum erat**: the antecedent to *quod* is suppressed; *lit.* "whatever in the camp was most loyal."

**infamiae, morti**: dat. governed by *eximant*, S. G. § 292, *Obs.* 2.

**temptatis**: abl. absolute, predicate to *quos idoneos rebantur*, *lit.* "those whom they considered fit, having been sounded."

**in officio**: *true to their allegiance*.

**seditioni**: for the dative with *promptus*, see on *servitio promptior*, Ch. 2.

**quod initium, quis finis**: it is difficult to see why the relative adjective (*quod*) should first be used and then the relative pronoun (*quis*). Possibly *quis* for *qui* may be due to euphony.

**Ch. 49. omnium**: gen. governed by *diversa*—*the scene was a contrast to all the civil wars*. The idiom is Greek; cf. *sceleris purus*, S. G. § 284.

**vescentis**: acc. pl., object of *habuerat*.

**intellecto**: abl. abs.

**moderator**: forms part of the predicate—*was there to govern their fury*.

**animos**: for *involare*, followed by the acc. without a prep., see on *genua advolvi*, Ch. 13.

**piaculum furoris**: the acc. is in apposition to the idea contained in the principal sentence, *as an expiation of their madness*. For this construction see on *documentum fidei*, Ch. 30, and for *piaculum* see note Ch. 30.

**posse manes**: acc. and infinitive, giving the word of the soldiers in oratio obliqua.

**iuncto ponte**: ablative of the instrument, *lit.* "sent across by means of a joined bridge" (of boats).

**alae** : *ala*, lit. a wing, came to be applied to squadrons of cavalry, as the wing of an army was chiefly composed of horsemen.

**modestia** : *discipline*.

**Ch. 50. neque procul** : they dwelt close by the right bank of the Rhine.

**limitem** : a broad boundary wall, commenced by Tiberius in order to define the limits of the Roman possessions to the east of the Rhine.

**scindit** can hardly mean that Germanicus had to pull down part of the *limes* in order to obtain a passage for his forces and the baggage. Trans. "made his way over."

**in limite** : *on the barrier*, i.e. the *vallum* on the front and rear of Germanicus' camp was formed by the walls of the *limes*.

**frontem** : "as to the front," acc. of respect, a poetical construction and one usually employed of parts of the body only, e.g. *humeros coniectus*, S. G. § 251.

**concaedibus** : *felled trees* used as a barricade.

**ecque** : = *ideoque*, and therefore.

**hostibus** : *by the enemy*, dative of the agent after *incantum*, used in a passive sense = *unguarded*.

**obstantia silvarum** : *the obstructing growths of the woods* ; for this partitive gen. after a neuter plur. adj. cf. *inculta montium* (Ch. 17).

**iuvit** : perfect of *iuvo*, *invare*.

**ventum** : sc. *est*, translate as if personal, "they arrived at."

**stratis** : abl. absolute with *Marsis* understood.

**propter** : *by the side of*, *near*.

**Ch. 51. avidas** : used absolutely, *eager for the fray*.

**ceciderant** : from *caedo*.

**gnarum** : *was known*, passive as in Ch. 5.

**incessit itineri et proelio** : *ordered his advance alike for march and fighting*, dat. of work contemplated, see on *morti deponit* (Ch. 23).

**ducebant** : intrans., *led the way*.

**porrigeretur** : subj. because of the notion of purpose, *waited until the line should defile*.

**novissimos** : *the rear*.

**Ch. 52. quaesivisset** : the subject is *Germanicus*. The subjunctive, because it expresses what Tiberius thought.

**retulit** : *brought under the notice of the Senate*. *Referre* was the technical term used when the president brought a subject before the senate for discussion ; the question or subject submitted was termed *relatio*. Note, Ch. 13.

**in speciem** : *for the purpose of effect*.

**intentior** : *with more warmth*.

**Ch. 53. Julia** was married thrice—to Marcellus, who died in B.C. 23 ;

to M. Agrippa, the great general of Augustus, until B.C. 12 : and to Tiberius. See Historical Index.

**Pandateria insula** : early prose writers would employ the preposition *in*, but Tacitus uses the abl. of place with the freedom of poetry.

**oppido Reginorum** : the town of the Regini, i.e. *Rhegium*. It appears more correct to spell the word without the aspirate.

**extorrem, infamem, egenam** : acc. referring to Julia, and objects of *peremit*.

**longinquitate** : *length*, usually of distance, here of time.

**in matrimonio Marci Agrippae** : *when she was the wife of M. A.*

**traditum** : sc. *Juliam*, object of *accenderat*, *when she was given to Tiberius, her paramour inflamed her*.

**quattuordecim annos** : *for fourteen years*. Note the ablative used, contrary to rule, to express *duration* of time.

**in prominenti litoris** : *on a projecting part of the shore*. *Prominenti* is an adj. ; for the genitive *litoris*, cf. *obstantia silvarum*, Ch. 50, and *umido paludum*, Ch. 61.

**vita degeneraverat** : *vita* may be either nom. or abl., "his life had deteriorated," or "he had deteriorated in life ;" the latter is perhaps more natural.

**Ch. 54. sodalium Augustalium** : the brotherhood of Augustales was established to supervise the worship of Augustus. They ranked with the other great priesthoods of the state—the *augures*, *pontifices*, etc. These *sodales Augustales* are to be carefully distinguished from the *Augustales*, an order of priests in the municipia, who were appointed by Augustus and selected from the *libertini*, to attend to the religious rites connected with the worship of the *lares* and *penates*, which Augustus put in places where two or more ways met. The dignity was in the gift of the *decuriones*, who so frequently sold the distinction, that almost all respectable *libertini* in every municipium possessed it, and so formed a middle class intermediate to the *decuriones* and *plebs*.

**Titus Tatius** : the colleague of Romulus in the monarchy.

**retinendis sacris** : dat. of work contemplated.

**ludos Augustales** : during the lifetime of Augustus games were celebrated in his honour at Rome and throughout the empire. In many provincial towns a quinquennial festival was established. At Rome the equites were accustomed to meet to celebrate the Emperor's birthday. None of these festivals, however, are to be confused with the *ludi Augustales*, which, as we have Tacitus' authority for asserting, were not founded until the reign of Tiberius.

**histrionum** : here equivalent to *pantomimi*, who in their mode of acting resembled the modern dancers in the ballet. They did not speak on the stage, but merely acted by gestures, movements, and attitudes.

**civile rebatur** : for Augustus' relation to the plebs, see *Hist. Aug. and Tib.*, I., § 6.

**habitum** : *treated*.

**Ch. 55. consulibus :** here begins the narrative of the events of A.D. 15, which fills the rest of the book.

**manente bello :** a *justus triumphus* demanded the following conditions: (1) the claimant must have been dictator, consul, or praetor; (2) he must have been the actual commander-in-chief; (3) *the campaign must have been terminated, and the country reduced to tranquillity*; (4) not less than 5,000 of the enemy must have fallen; (5) the contest must have been against a foreign foe.

**praecepit :** *anticipated.*

**utrumque perfidia aut fide :** *one (Arminius) for his treachery, the other (Segestes) for his loyalty.*

**parari rebellionem :** acc. and infin. clause dependent on *aperuit*.

**itum :** sc. *est a Germanis.*

**ipsi :** "to Varus."

**gener invisus inimici soceri :** *the hated son-in-law of a father-in-law who was already his enemy.* *Soceri* is sometimes taken as the plur., referring to Segestes, the *socer* of Arminius, and Segimerus, the father of Arminius and *socer* of his wife Thusnelda; but the former rendering appears simpler. The latter is, of course, the meaning if a comma is inserted after *invisus*.

**Ch. 56. tumultuarias :** soldiers hastily levied in the case of a *tumultus*, or for any emergency.

**paterni praesidii :** the ramparts built by his father, the elder Drusus.

**ad munitiones viarum :** *to make roads.*

**rarum illi caelo :** for this parenthetic expression, cf. *rarum etiam inter hostes* (Ch. 37), *dubium an quarsita morte* (Ch. 5). **caelo :** *climate.*

**regredienti :** dat. of interest, *were feared for him when returning.*

**pagis vicisque :** *cantons and villages.*

**caput :** *chief town.*

**quod illi moris :** sc. *est, what is his usual custom.* *Moris* is possessive gen., used as a predicate. It is akin to the gen. in such expressions as *sapientis est pauca loqui*. S. G. § 265.

**fuerat animus Cheruscis :** trans. "It had been the intention of the Cherusci;" *Cheruscis*, dat. of the possessor with *sum*. S. G. § 296.

**popularium :** "those belonging to his own *populus*," "his fellow-countrymen."

**Ch. 57. quanto quis audacia promptus :** "the more ready in daring a man is." Note that the positive is used instead of the more regular comparative, and that *quis* is equivalent to *aliquis*.

**conscientia :** *consciousness of guilt.*

**Germaniae :** the German tribes dwelling to the east of the Rhine between that river and the Elbe, not the provinces known as Superior and Inferior. The revolt referred to was the general conflagration which broke out in A.D. 9 after the *Variana clades* (note Ch. 10).

**aram Ubiorum :** the modern Cologne (see Ch. 39).



**in ripam** : of the Rhine.

**pretium fuit** : for *operae pretium fuit*—it was worth while.

**sinum** : the folds of her dress beneath the breast.

**praedae** : predicative dat. (S. G. § 297), given as booty.

**Ch. 58. ex quo** : sc. *tempore*, ever since.

**civitate** : the rights of a Roman citizen.

**ex vestris utilitatibus**, in accordance with your interests; for the prep. cf. *ex more*, "according to custom." The clause *Romanis . . . conducere* as well as *pacem quam bellum* is governed by *probabam*, which, however, is really appropriate to the latter only [instance of Zeugma]. Supply *judicabam* from *probabam* to govern the first clause.

**novissima** : last, as in Ch. 51.

**tui copia** : an opportunity of making overtures to you = *tui con-  
veniendi copia*.

**necessitate** : force, compulsion.

**vetere in provincia** : in the old province, that part of Germania lying to the west of the Rhine, called *vetus*, because acquired by the Romans at an earlier period than the districts to the east of the Rhine (known as *nova provincia*), which were for the most part lost by the Varian disaster.

**auctore Tiberio** : the title was bestowed by the senate with the approval of the Emperor.

**virilis sexus** : gen. of description qualifying *stirpem*.

**Ch. 59. dediti Segestis** : "of the surrender of Segestes;" for the idiom cf. *occisus dictator*, Ch. 8.

**ut quibusque bellum invitis aut cupientibus erat** : according <sup>A</sup> as men were disinclined for or desired war; lit. "according as to each party war came to willing or unwilling men." This modification of the dat. of reference (*quibusque*) by an adj. or pres. part. is a Greek idiom. Cf. *θέλοντι, βουλομένῳ, ἄκοντι μοι ἔστιν*.

**spe vel dolore** : abl. of manner. The use of the simple abl. is Tacitean, earlier writers employing the prep. *cum* in similar expressions. S. G. § 312.

**super** : = *praeter*, "in addition to."

**uxoris uteris** : his unborn child. For *uterus . . . subjectus* cf. *dediti Segestis* above.

**egregium patrem** : the oratio obliqua which now commences is continued to the end of the chapter.

**tres legiones** : the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth. They were never reconstituted, the two legions which took their place being styled the twenty-first and second.

**sacerdotium hominum** : the priesthood of mere men. The temple in which Segimundus had officiated appears to have been dedicated to Julius and Augustus, mortals.

† In place of *hominum*, *hostium* has been proposed. Also *hoc unum* preceded instead of followed by the colon.

**virgas et secures** : the ensigns of the higher Roman magistrates.

**togam** : the distinctive dress of the Roman people, called in consequence the *gens togata* (e.g. *Aen.*, I., 282).

**ignorantia** : abl. of cause.

**inexperta, nescia** : both passive. Cf. *gnarus* and *ignarus* (Ch. 5).

**ille** : "the great" used ironically.

**inter numina dicatus** : *consecrated as a deity*.

**colonias novas** : new settlements (of Germans) like that which Segestes had just received from the Romans, not fresh colonies of Romans in Germany.

**Ch. 60. vetere auctoritate** : abl. of quality, for which see on *multa dicendi arte* (Ch. 9).

**distrahendo hosti** : dat. of work contemplated "for the purpose of diverting the enemy." The construction is scarcely found in earlier prose, in which *ad distrahendum hostem*, or one of the ordinary expressions of purpose, would be used.

**finibus Frisiorum** : abl. of direction, practically equivalent to *per fines F.* Cf. *ut porta triumphali duceretur funus* (Ch. 8). This construction is again characteristic of the silver age.

**praedictum** : *above-mentioned*, the Amisia.

**lacus** : of these L. Flevo was the chief. The shallow *Zuyder Zee* now covers the ground these lakes occupied.

**amnes inter** : prepositions of two syllables sometimes follow their substantives in later Latin, e.g. *coram* in *dis et patria coram* (*Ann.*, IV., 8).

**Ch. 61. duci** : *i.e.* Varus.

**occulta saltuum, umido paludum** : *obscure defiles, marshy pools* ; with these partitive genitives dependent on neut. adjectives, cf. *obstantia silvarum* (Ch. 50).

**aggeres** : *embankments, causeways*.

**principiis** : *the headquarters*. the open space at the centre of a Roman camp where the *praetorium* and the *augurale* and *tribunal* for addressing the soldiers were situated. It was where the *via praetoria*, leading from the *porta praetoria*, intersected the transverse *via principalis*. As the size of the entire camp was proportionate to that of the *principia*, they could estimate from the data of the latter the dimensions of the whole.

**dein** : they advanced, and came across a much smaller encampment.

**primorum ordinum centuriones** : see on Ch. 17. The expression probably includes the senior centurion of the *triarii* of each cohort.

**pugnam aut vincula elapsi** : the acc. is Tacitean variation for the dative or prep. and ablative of earlier Latin. See on *genua advolve-retur* (Ch. 13).

**quot patibula** : "the number of gibbets."

**scrobes** : *trench*, probably for burying the prisoners alive. The Germans would hardly go to the trouble of honouring a hated foe with interment.

**Ch. 62. sextum post cladis annum :** *in the sixth year after the disaster* ; cf. *δευτέρῳ ἔτει τούτων*, Hdt., VI., 46. The regular expression is *sexto anno post cladem*, and the acc. is due to the influence of *post*. Cf. in dates *ante diem tertium Kalendas*, S. G. § 925.

**exstruendo tumulo :** *for erecting a mound* ; the dative gerundive here denotes purpose, as in *perferendis mandatis*, Ch. 23, cf. note, Ch. 60.

**Tiberio :** dat. of the agent.

**formidolosiore hostium :** *more disposed to be afraid of the enemy*. *Formidolosus*, which in Cicero has an active sense, "causing fear," "terrible," is here passive, "feeling fear." The genitive is by analogy with such expressions as *offensionum pavidus, anxius salutis*.

**auguratu :** the augurs were a college whose duty it was to observe and report supernatural signs, to give decisions on points of ceremonial law, to advise on the expiation of prodigies, etc. As instituted by Romulus or Numa Pompilius (whence *vetustissimis caerimoniis*), they were three in number, one for each tribe. The Ogulnian law, B.C. 300, increased them from four to nine. Sulla to 15, and Caesar to 16. Under the Empire they were nominated by the *princeps* without restriction as to number. The importance of the auspices is pointedly summed up by Livy (VI., 14) : "Auspiciis hanc urbem conditam esse, auspiciis bello ac pace, domo militiaeque omnia geri, quis est qui ignoret?"

**feralia :** *funeral ceremonies*, from *fero*, carrying out the dead in funeral procession. The ceremonial rule here alluded to was not strictly binding on any priestly official save the Pontifex Maximus.

**Ch. 63. eripi :** *lit.* "that the plain should be wrested from the enemy."

**subsidiariae cohortes :** *cohorts of the reserve*.

**trudebantur . . . ni instruxisset :** for the indicative in apodosis, cf. *ni pernotuisset, haud multum ab exitio aberant* (Ch. 23), *deferbat in pectus, ni attinuissent* (Ch. 35), *circumveniebatur, ni opposuisset* (Ch. 65).

**gnaram = notam,** known ; so in Ch. 5.

**manibus aequis :** *without advantage to either side* ; cf. *aequo Marte*.

**litore Oceani :** *by way of the shore of the Ocean* ; for the ablative see on *finibus Frisiorum*, Ch. 60.

**pontes longos :** *the causeway known as the Long Bridges*.

**cetera :** the ground in the immediate neighbourhood of the embankment was bog and marsh ; further away were gradually sloping uplands covered with forests (*silvae paulatim adclives*).

**compendiis viarum :** *short cuts*. *Compendium* is *lit.* "that which is kept weighed together ;" hence, as the opposite of *dispendium*, "profit acquired by saving" ; then "space saved in travel."

**militem :** the Roman soldiery.

**opus :** before this supply *alii*, "that some might begin the repairs."

**Ch. 64. nisi:** from *nitor*. It here governs the infin. (*perfringere, inferre*); it is usually followed by *ut* and subj.

**ad gradum:** for *foothold*. *Gradus* denotes a firm position or stand, as in *gradu demoti, de gradu deiectioni*.

**pila:** the distinctive weapon of the Roman soldiers of the line, each of whom carried two. It was an iron-headed spear about six feet nine inches long.

**Cheruscis:** dat. of the possessor. Tacitus proceeds to enumerate the advantages enjoyed by the Germans in the fight.

**adversae pugnae:** for the dat. with *exemit*, see S. G. § 292, *Obs. 2*.

**quantum:** object of *vertere*, i.e., *verterunt*. *Circum* is an adverb qualifying *surgentibus*.

**in subiecta:** "the low-lying country."

**mersa humo:** abl. abs., as also is *obruato*, the subject of which is *quod effectum operis*; lit. "what of the work was already finished being submerged."

**stipendium:** *campaign*, see on Ch. 17.

**silvis:** *in the woods*; for this and other local ablatives without a preposition see on *remeantem Armenia* (Ch. 3).

**tenuem:** *thin*, when you looked at the line of march transversely.

**Ch. 65. subiecta vallium:** *the low-lying valleys*; for this part. genitive dependent on a neut. plur. adj., cf. *alia honorum* (Ch. 9), *strata viarum* (Verg.).

**passim adiacerent vallo:** *lay scattered along the ramparts*.

**quies:** here bears the derived sense of *dream*. So *vanae monstra quietis* (St. *Thebaid*).

**oblitum:** from *oblino*, "smeared."

**obsecutus:** sc. *esse*, dependent on *visus est*, which naturally takes the nominative, S. G. § 232. **intendentem:** i.e. Varus, obj. of *reppulisse*, itself having *manus* as object; *thrust him away as he stretched out his hands*; v.l. *manum intendentis*.

**umentia ultra:** for the preposition following its substantive see on *amnes inter*, Ch. 60.

**quamquam libero incursu:** *although a free passage for attack was offered him*. The clause is abl. absolute, strangely modified by *quamquam* (like the Greek *ὅς*), which, as a rule, is followed by a finite verb, e.g. *quamquam liber incursus erat*.

**ut haesere:** "when . . . stuck fast." *Ut* = *when*, has to be repeated with the clauses down to *lentue . . . aures*, but in the interposed *utque tali in tempore* it means *as (is usual)*.

**lubrico paludum:** *slippery marshes*; for this part. gen. dependent on a neut. sing. adj., cf. *humido paludum* (Ch. 61).

**limosa humo:** notice the abl. without a preposition (note, Ch. 3).

**circumveniebatur . . . ni opposuisset:** for the moods see on *aberant*, Ch. 23.

**petendus agger:** *material for the mound had to be looked for*, e.g. earth, stakes.



**amissa**: supply *sunt ea* before *per quas*. "The implements, by which . . . , were lost."

**Ch. 66. decumana**: the gate on the opposite side of the camp to the *porta praetoria*. The latter would be the first entered by the foe, whom it always faced.

**comperito**: abl. abs. predicate to *vanam esse formidinem*.

**eundum erat**: impersonal. Trans. *they would have to pass*. *Eundum* is considered by Roby to be nominative of the gerund (lit. *there was a going*), not neuter of the gerundive, as in S. G. § 536.

**Ch. 67. principia**: see on Ch. 61.

**temporis**: this genitive, dependent on *monet*, is due to analogy with *admonet*, e.g. *admonebat alium egestatis* (Sall., *Cat.*).

**ea**: i.e. *arma*.

**expugnandi**: is governed by *spe*—"in the hope of storming it."

**succederent**: subj. because of the implied notion of *purpose*.

**perveniri**: *a way is open*.

**nulla ambitione**: *without any partiality*, unmoved by entreaties on the part of individuals.

**pedes**: nom. sing. of *pedes*, *peditis* used collectively, *the infantry*; so *Germanus* = *the Germans* in the following chapter.

**Ch. 68. spe, cupidine et . . . sententiis** are all modal ablatives, modifying *agebat* (passed their time).

**sinerent**: indirect jussive subj. dependent on *suadente Arminio*.

**atrociora**: *more spirited*; *ferocia* and *ferox* are used similarly.

**proruunt fossas**: *they filled the ditches with earth*. The obstacles to storming a camp were the ditch (*fossa*) and the mound (*agger* and *vallum*). The Germans surmounted the first by filling in the ditch or crossing it on hurdles, and they were engaged in scaling the mound when the Romans poured out of the camp, and attacked them in the rear.

**raro**: *stationed at distant intervals*, forming an abl. abs. with *milite*. *Super* is adverbial—*on the mound*.

**cornua, tubae**: for the distinction between these see on Ch. 28.

**hosti . . . cogitanti**: dat. of person judging, governed by *offunduntur*, "to an enemy . . . expecting."

**tanto maiora**: *with all the more terror*. Note the omission of the comparative in the protasis, *quanto inopina*.

**incauti**: *disconcerted*.

**integer**: (from *in, tango*) *unhurt*.

**Ch. 69. circumventi exercitus fama**: *a rumour that the army was surrounded* (lit. "of the surrounded army"); cf. *occisus dictator*, Ch. 8.

**Gallias peti**: acc. and infin. dependent on the idea of saying

contained in *fuma*. The plur. *Gallias* denotes the provinces Gallia Lugdunensis, Narbonensis, and Belgica.

**ni prohibuisset . . . erant**: see on *aberant* (Ch. 23).

**ingens animi**: of high spirit; *animi* is probably locative. See on Ch. 32.

**adversus externos**: *to attack a foreign foe*. Tiberius, always jealous of Germanicus, was afraid that Agrippina was plotting against himself.

**tanquam parum ambitiose**: *sc. esset*, "as though, forsooth, popular applause was not courted enough." The primary meaning of *ambitio* (note Ch. 15) is canvassing, and the adv. here has this force.

**gregali habitu**: the dress of a common soldier; *miles gregarius* = one of the *grex* or herd (Ch. 16).

**odia in longum iaciens**: *sowing seeds of hatred for a distant future*.

**quae** = *ut ea*; the subj. *reconderet* is thus final.

**Ch. 70. reciproco sideret**: supply with this *levior*, *might ground less heavily at the ebb-tide*. *Reciproco* qualifies *mare*, to be supplied from the preceding *mari*; and the abl. is one of attendant circumstances (abl. abs.).

**sidere aequinoctii**: *the season of the equinox*. The autumnal equinox is meant.

**incerta**: (*lit.* "uncertain things") *quicksands*.

**modo . . . modo**: "at one time . . . at another;" **pectore**, like *ore*, is governed by *tenuis*.

**subtracto solo**: the soldiers got out of their depth.

**involvebantur**: *sc. fluctibus*, *was attacked by the waves*.

**utensilibus**: *things for use*, sometimes in the modern sense of utensils; here of necessities, provisions.

**illic** = *apud illos*, refers, contrary to rule, to the latter of two alternatives (*ii, quos hostis circumsidet*). For the adverb equivalent to the pronoun cf. *illuc* = *ad illum* in *illuc cuncta vergere*. **usus**: "resource."

† **Visurgin** is an impossible reading, since Vitellius had commenced his march at this river, and was journeying to meet Germanicus and his fleet at the Amisia.

**Ch. 71. Galliae**: see above, Ch. 69. **Hispaniae**: *i.e.* Terraconensis and Baetica.

**propria**: *from his own resources*.

**Ch. 72. triumphalia insignia**: the honour of an actual triumph at Rome was confined after the reign of Augustus to members of the reigning dynasty, but successful generals received the *triumphalia insignia* or *ornamenta*, such as the chaplet of laurel, the *toga picta*, the *tunica palmata*, the *sella curulis*, and the sceptre of ivory.

**nomen patris patriae**: "the title of Father of his country." It will be remembered that this was given to Cicero on the suppression of

the Catilinarian Conspiracy. It was afterwards conferred on Julius Caesar and on Augustus.

**in acta sua jurari** : "an oath of allegiance to be taken to his acts." This was quite a different thing from the *sacramentum in verba Caesaris*, which was an oath of allegiance to the person of the Emperor, taken at the commencement of a new reign. The present oath was one of obedience to the decrees of the Princesps, taken every year, on the first of January, by magistrates and senators. See note on Ch. 7.

**quantoque plus adeptus foret** : *in proportion as he obtained more.*  
**civilis** : such as became a citizen in a state where all were free and equal.

**legem majestatis** : Tacitus proceeds to state that trials for *majestas* (or, in full, *laesa majestas*) under the Republic were confined to cases of maladministration in a public capacity, and crimes against the state. Under the Empire they were extended not only to what are called in English *overt acts* of hostility, but also to speeches and writings directed against the Emperor, the representative of the state. Some illustrations of the new stretch of meaning given to it follow (Ch. 73, 4), and its growth is treated in *Hist. Aug. and Tib.*, V., § 16.

**an iudicia maiestatis redderentur** : *whether the treason-courts should be revived.* Others take *redderentur* as = *darentur*. "cases of treason should be brought to trial." *Do, dico, addico*, are the *tria verba praetoris*—*do ius*; *dico iudicium*; *addico in supplicium*. There were under the Empire three courts of criminal jurisdiction, each final, but each under the influence of the princeps. (1) *The Praetor's Court*, in which jurors (*iudices*) gave a verdict on the facts, and the presiding praetor stated what the prescribed penalty was. Here the princeps made out the *album iudicum* (whence the jurors were taken), sometimes sat *in cornu tribunalis* (Ch. 75), and might give his *calculus Minervae*, if the jury were equally divided. (2) *The Consul's Court* (non-existent in Republican times since the establishment of the praetorship in B.C. 367), with the senate as his assessors; though this court could prescribe the penalty, its execution might be prevented by the princeps' *intercessio* (cf. III. 51, 3). (3) *The Princeps' Court*, *pauca familiarium adhibitis* (III. 10). This was quite a novelty, but was little used by Tiberius, who preferred to escape the odium of condemning. In the case of Granius Marcellus (I. 74) both (1) and (2) are mentioned.

**auctoribus** : dat. of agent.

**Ch. 73. modicis equitibus** : *knight of moderate fortune*. not, e.g., *equites splendidi*. For the different ranks of knights see on Ch. 7, and *Introductio*. § 4 (3).

**cultores Augusti** : these were quite distinct from the *sodales Augusti* of Ch. 54. It seems to have been the custom for the great families at Rome to institute private worship of Augustus in their houses, and to admit to this ceremonial persons of inferior rank.

**mimi**: actors in mimes, a dramatic performance which differed from comedy in consisting more of gestures and mimicry than of spoken dialogue. The scenes were drawn from common life, and were not remarkable for their decency. They gained much popularity under the Empire.

**mancipasset**: *had sold*. *Mancipium* (*lit.* "a taking by hand") is the technical legal term for the formal taking possession of a purchase or sale.

**crimini**: dat. of the predicate, *as an accusation*. So *curae* in *dis curae* at the end of the chapter.

**sua**: of Tiberius, *i.e.* Livia.

**Ch. 74. praetorem Bithyniae**: Bithynia was a senatorial province of the second rank. See Introduction, § 4 (7, *b*). Its governor was a man who had filled the office of praetor, whence he was sometimes called pro-praetor or praetor. His ordinary title was, however, in obedience to a decree of Augustus, pro-consul, and he was attended by his quaestor.

**maiestatis postulavit**: *impeached for treason*. For the genitive see S. G. § 280.

**subscribente**: signing his name at the bottom of the indictment as seconding the charge.

**celebrem**: *frequent*. The walk of life alluded to is that of a delator, or informer.

**ex contemptis metuendi**: *objects of fear instead of objects of contempt*.

**inevitabile**: *from which there was no escape*. Notice how *in. crimen* is in apposition to the preceding acc. and infin. sentence.

**sitam** = *positam*, "placed."

**exarsit**: the subject is Tiberius.

**palam**: the Emperor declared that he would not be content with a silent vote (*per discessionem*), but would first state his reasons.

**iuratum**: on important occasions it was customary for speakers to emphasize their views by a *iusiurandum*. Cf. Tiberius' procedure in Ch. 14.

**quo . . . fieret**: *this he did in order that . . .*; the clause is the explanation of Tacitus, not part of the Emperor's speech.

**quanto incautius, penitentia patiens**: "in proportion as his explosion of anger had been thoughtless, relenting all the more from regret." We should expect in the apodosis *penitentia tanto patientior*, but see on Ch. 57.

**tulit**: *he voted*.

**de pecuniis repetundis**: *of extortion*. *Pecuniae repetundae* denoted sums of money which the allies or private individuals claimed to recover from magistrates and judges, on the ground that they had been improperly taken by the latter in their public capacity. The legislation on this subject—which began with the establishment of the first *quaestio perpetua* for such cases, by the *Lex Calpurnia*, B.C. 149—was codified in the *Lex Julia* of B.C. 59, which, in addition



to compelling the restoration of the money extorted, disqualified persons convicted from acting as witnesses, judges, or senators.

**recipitatores** : a body of *judices*, selected from the senate by the praetor, which had jurisdiction chiefly in cases brought by the provincials against Romans.

**Ch. 75. curuli** : sc. *sella*, the curule chair on which the praetor sat. For the judicial functions of the Emperor see note, Ch. 72, and Introduction, § 4 (1).

**ambitum** : *canvassing, corruption.*

**mole publicae viae** : *the massive character (or thrust) of the public road* ; i.e. the huge stones employed in making it had rendered the foundations of his house insecure.

**ductu aquarum** : *aqueduct.*

**aerarii praetoribus** : the treasury of the state was originally entrusted to the quaestors and their assistants—the *tribuni aerarii* ; but in B.C. 49, when no quaestors were elected, it was transferred to the aediles, in whose care it appears to have been until B.C. 28, when Augustus gave it to the praetors and men of praetorian standing.

**per honesta** : *in an honourable way.*

**veniam ordinis petenti** : *who asked leave to resign his senatorial rank.*

**decies sestertium** : supply *centena millia* ; the sum is a million sesterces.

**conperto** : abl. abs. predicate to *paternas . . . esse.*

**Ch. 76. libri Sibyllini** : according to the legend these books were presented to Tarquinius Superbus by a Sibyl of Cumae. They were probably in Greek characters. They were kept in a stone chest under ground in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and only consulted when a national calamity or plague occurred. When the temple where they were preserved was burnt in B.C. 82, envoys were sent to the East to make fresh collections, and these were deposited at Rome. Augustus caused a general recension to be made, compelled private persons who possessed any Sibylline oracles to give them up, and placed those which were considered genuine in two gilded caskets, at the base of the statue of Apollo, in the Palatine temple.

**perinde** : *equally.*

**in praesens** : *for the present.* **proconsulari imperio** : *from the proconsular administration.* The provinces were to be converted from senatorial to imperial, Introd., § 4 (7). The change was only temporary, as Claudius gave them back to the senate in A.D. 44. Among the causes which induced the provincials to prefer the rule of the Emperor were—(a) The *legati Caesaris*, administered for a term of years, the senatorial governors for one year only ; (b) the mode of living of the former was more modest than that of the latter ; (c) sometimes a *legatus* governed three or four imperial provinces, thus lightening the burdens of the provincials in proportion.

**edendis gladiatoribus** : dat. governed by *praesedit*, "presided over the gladiatorial shows."

**quamquam vili** : *quamvis* is more frequently employed than *quamquam* to modify adjectives.

**ipse** : Tiberius.

**non crediderim** : the subj. expresses a modified assertion, "I cannot believe."

**proximo priore anno** : a redundant expression for *proximo anno*, "in the preceding year."

(**Ch. 77. praetoriae cohortis** : "a praetorian cohort." See on Ch. 7, and *Intro.*, § 4 (7).

**ius virgarum** : *the right of scourging.*

**intercessit** : *used his right of veto* (as tribune).

**lucaris** : *pay.* *Lucar* was a forest (*lucus*) tax imposed for the support of players.

**fautorum** : *their supporters*, bands like those of which Percennius had been a leader (Ch. 17).

**egredientes in publicum** : *when they came out into the street.* *Egredientes* is object of *cingerent*, to which *equites* is subject.

**spectarentur** : they were not to give representations in private houses. An emendation of Wölfflin gives *sectarentur*, "should follow."

**Ch. 78. centesimam** : a tax of one per cent. on things sold by auction. See *Hist. Aug. and Tib.*, Ch. V., §§ 10-12.

**militare aerarium** : this was a separate treasury established in A.D. 6 by Augustus to provide for the pay and support of the army. Among the taxes by which it was replenished was the *centesimam* mentioned above.

**simul** : "that even with it," "even when this tax was imposed,"

**vicensimo** : instead of at the sixteenth year, a concession which the legions had extorted from Germanicus.

**Ch. 79. flumina** : the chief were the Clanis, Nar, Allia, Cremera, Anio. **lacus** : *eg.* the Veline lake.

**ne Clanis transferretur** : there is a large tract of marshy ground between the Clanis and the Arnus, and it was proposed to drain off the waters of the Clanis into the Arnus by means of canals. See *Index, sub Arnus.*

**Interamnates** : *the people of Interamna*, from nom. *Interamnās*.

**pessum ituros** : *would go to ruin.* For *pessum*, acc. of *motion*, see note, Ch. 9.

**quin** : illative particle, *moreover.*

**Ch. 80. prorogatur provincia** : *the command of the province was prolonged.* Moesia was an imperial province, in which government for a term of years was not unusual. See on Ch. 76.

**id morum fuit** : *it was one of Tiberius' characteristics.* *Morum*

(more usually *moris*) is a possessive genitive used predicatively. S. G. § 265.

**semel placita** : "what had once been resolved upon," object of *servavisse*.

**sunt qui existiment** : for this consecutive subj. see S. G. § 492.

**Ch. 81. comitiis consularibus** : if the elections to the consulship were transferred to the senate in A.D. 14 (see Ch. 15), this is a figurative expression, like that used of the choice by an emperor of his successive *comitia imperii* (*Hist.*, I., 14).

**illo principe** : in the reign of Tiberius.

**ausim** : this perf. subj. expresses a mild assertion. Cf. *crediderim* in Ch. 76. *Ausim* (for *aud-sim*) consists of *aud-*, the stem of *audere*, + *-s-*, aorist tense ending, + *im*, the personal ending of the subj., originally optative (cf. *sim*, 1st sing., pres. subj. of *esse* and the Greek *ειμ*, originally *ἐ-σι-ην*).

**subtractis nominibus** : *suppressing the names of the candidates*. The people had now lost their right of creating magistrates, and the elections were in the hands of the senate. It is not, however, quite clear whether the elections to the consulship were transferred to the senate, as those to the praetorship were in A.D. 14 (Ch. 14, 15). Probably they were, and under Tiberius there was at any rate this difference between the two : for the consulship the Emperor nominated (note on Ch. 14) two candidates only, and others had no chance ; while for the praetorship Tiberius *commended* four, who were elected without canvassing ; and the remaining vacancies, usually eight, were actually contested by candidates, eight of whom were nominated by the princeps, and others by the consuls. Before a man could stand for the praetorship he had to pass through (1) either the *vigintivirate* or the *military tribuneship* (generally both), (2) the *quaestorship*, and (3) the *tribunate of the plebs* or the *curule aedileship*. It may be noted that the first pair were open to *equites* ; the quaestorship gave admission to the senate, to which also the Emperor, like the early kings, might give admission without any official novitiate. These last were called *adlecti a principe*.

**professos** : *given in their names to him, offered themselves as candidates*.

## HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX.

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### A.

**Achaia**, a Roman province including Greece Proper, Thessaly, and Epirus, founded on the dissolution (B.C. 146) of the Achaean league, whence its name. Originally a senatorial province, it was on the petition of its inhabitants transferred for a time to the Emperor (Ch. 76), who placed it under the same governor as Moesia and Macedonia (Ch. 80).

**Adrāna** (*Eder*), a German stream which flows into the Fulda, itself an affluent of the Weser, near Cassel (Ch. 56).

**Agrippa, M. Vipsanius**, the greatest of Augustus' generals, commanded in many wars from B.C. 41 to B.C. 12; among them the Perusian, the campaigns against Sextus Pompeius, and the battle of Actium. By his first wife he had a daughter Vipsania, who became the wife of Tiberius and mother of the younger Drusus; by his third, Julia, the daughter of Augustus, he had two daughters, Julia, married to L. Aemilius Paulus, and Agrippina, married to Germanicus; and three sons, Caius and Lucius Caesar and

**Agrippa Postumus**, so called from being born after his father's death. His brutal manners rendered him intensely distasteful to Augustus, who banished him to the island of Planasia, A.D. 7. The latter, however, according to report, visited his grandson shortly before his death (Ch. 6), and seemed disposed to relent. Any such intentions were frustrated by his decease, and on the accession of Tiberius Agrippa was promptly put to death.

**Agrippina**, the wife of Germanicus, by whom she had nine children, among them Caligula and the younger Agrippina, accompanied her husband to the Rhine, and shared in the perils of his campaigns and the mutinies of the legions. She never flinched before danger, but her temper was violent, and caused her to be regarded with dislike and suspicion by Tiberius and Livia. On the death of Germanicus in the East (A.D. 19) she returned to Italy, was banished to the



island of Pandateria by Tiberius in A.D. 30, and there three years later died, probably from starvation.

**Albis** (the *Elbe*) rises in the interior of Germany (*Bohemia*), not far from the Danube, and after flowing in a N.W. direction falls into the *Mare Germanicum*. It was first seen by the Romans under the elder Drusus in B.C. 9. The last general who approached it was Tiberius in A.D. 5, and the defeat of Varus in A.D. 9 destroyed all possibility of the Romans making it the boundary of their empire.

**Amisia** (the *Ems*), a stream of no great length, which rises in the *Saltus Teutoburgiensis*. On it Drusus had a naval engagement with the Bructeri in B.C. 12. Thither Germanicus despatched Caecina (Ch. 60) with forty cohorts, which he himself joined afterwards with another force.

**Antonius, Marcus**, the triumvir, was born in B.C. 83. After serving in Spain and the East he became one of Caesar's legates in Gaul. Tribune in 49, and the most trusted servant of Caesar during the Civil War, he gradually rose in importance, until on the dictator's death, in March B.C. 44, he made use of his position as consul in such a way that he was accepted by the army as their chief, and became the most powerful Roman of his time. A rival then appeared in the youthful Octavius, who after some active fighting against him on behalf of the senate, became reconciled to him at a conference near Bononia, Oct., B.C. 43, and the Second Triumvirate was instituted (Ch. 10, and notes). Together with Octavius he defeated the Senatorians at the battle of Philippi (B.C. 42), after which he obtained the eastern half of the Empire. After several disputes with Octavius, and some warfare in Parthia, he was in B.C. 31 defeated at Actium, and committed suicide at Alexandria in the following year.

**Appuleius, Sex.**, consul in conjunction with Sex. Pompeius for the year A.D. 14.

**Apronius, L.**, in A.D. 15 served in Germany under Germanicus, who employed him in operations against the Chatti (Ch. 56). His services were rewarded with the insignia of a triumph (Ch. 72). He was subsequently proconsul of Africa and praetor of Lower Germany. While holding the latter office he engaged in a war with the Frisii, and in it lost his life, A.D. 20. (He is probably not to be identified with the L. Apronius of Ch. 29, the latter being an *eques*, the former a consular.)

**Arminius** (*Hermann*), son of Segimerus, was a chieftain of the Cherusci (*q.v.*), and *turbator Germaniae* (Ch. 55). While still young he commanded a body of his countrymen in Roman pay, and for his services was presented with the franchise and enrolled among the *equites*. In A.D. 9 he secretly threw off his fidelity to Rome, attacked Varus, the Roman general, when entangled in the *Saltus Teutoburgiensis*, and destroyed his three legions. In A.D. 15 he defended his country against the invasion of Germanicus, at first with success, but being persuaded by his uncle Inguiomerus to attack the Roman camp, he was beaten off, and the Romans gained the Rhine in safety. In the same year his father-in-law and enemy Segestes went over to the

Romans, taking with him Thusnelda, the wife of Arminius. In A.D. 16 he was again engaged in warfare with Germanicus. Three years later he was assassinated on the suspicion of aiming at despotic power.

**Arno** (*Arno*), the chief river of Etruria, rises in the Apennines, and after flowing by Pisae, falls into the Tyrrhenian sea. A proposal (Ch. 79) to turn the waters of the Clanis into it, in order to prevent the overflow of the Tiber, was successfully opposed by the people of Florentia (*Firenze*). The *Val di Chiana*, which runs N. and E. between Arezzo and Chiusi, is so level that it drains just as naturally into the Arno as into the Tiber.

**Arruntius, L.**, son of L. Arruntius, the consul of B.C. 22, and commander of Octavius' fleet at Actium, was himself consul in A.D. 6. He was a man of wealth and ability, said by Augustus on his death-bed to be both worthy of empire and capable of aspiring to it (Ch. 13). He held a leading position in the senate during the reign of Tiberius. He moved a resolution in the senate when debating on the honours to be paid to Augustus (Ch. 8), and is mentioned in Ch. 76 as being commissioned to devise measures against the overflow of the Tiber. In A.D. 37 he was accused of being cognisant of the crimes of Albucilla, and committed suicide.

**Asprenas, L.**, possibly nephew of Varus, proconsul of Africa in A.D. 14, is said by some authorities to have despatched soldiers at the orders of Tiberius to put Sempronius Gracchus to death (Ch. 53).

**Augustus**, the title by which the first Emperor of Rome was known after he became sole ruler. His original name was **C. Octavius**, and he was the great-nephew of Julius Caesar, the dictator, who adopted him as his heir B.C. 45, and sent him to learn the art of war in Illyria. On the murder of Caesar, B.C. 44, by Brutus and Cassius, Octavius came to Italy to claim his rights as heir. He conciliated the people by paying to them the legacies which Caesar had left them, and was appointed general by the senate against Antonius. He soon after joined Antonius, and with Lepidus, another senatorial general, set up the Second Triumvirate, B.C. 43. In B.C. 42 the three defeated Brutus and Cassius at Philippi in Macedonia, and divided the world between them. They soon quarrelled. Lepidus was the first to be deprived of his power, B.C. 36; and five years later, B.C. 31, Octavianus crushed Antonius, who was assisted by Cleopatra, at Actium in Epirus. He now became sole ruler, and devoted himself to reducing the Roman world to order. He defeated all his opponents, and extended his empire from the Euphrates to the Rhine, even reaching as far as the Elbe for a time. He did all in his power to improve Rome and the Romans by justice and by the example of his own modest life. He was the patron of many of the writers of his time. He died A.D. 14, and was succeeded by Tiberius, his stepson.

**Aurelius, Pius**, a senator whose house was damaged by a public road (Ch. 75).

## B.

**Bathyllus**, an actor, or rather pantomimist (*mimus*) of some influence with Maecenas (Ch. 54).

**Belgae**, the collective designation of a number of tribes of German origin, who crossed the Rhine and settled in the N.E. of Gaul, called from them Belgica.

**Bithynia**, a country of Asia Minor. was constituted a senatorial province by Augustus. Its boundaries varied from time to time; but in the reign of Tiberius it embraced not only Bithynia proper, but also Paphlagonia, extending along the Propontis and the coast of the Euxine, from the river Rhyndacus to the Halys. Nicomedia, Nicaea, Amastris, and Sinope were its chief towns, and the Sangarius and Billaeus its most important rivers.

**Blaesus, Junius**, was commander of the three Pannonian legions at the death of Augustus. In the mutiny which then broke out he acted with courage and resolution, but found himself unable to restore order without external aid. In A.D. 21 he was promoted to the government of Africa, and during his tenure of office crushed the insurgent Tacfarinas, receiving in consequence the rare honour of a salutation as imperator and of a triumph at Rome. The fall of his nephew, Seianus, in A.D. 31, brought about his fall. He at once lost his priestly offices, and in A.D. 36 committed suicide.

**Bructeri**, a German tribe, who dwelt on both banks of the Amisia, and occupied the country between that river and the Lupia. They joined in the attack on Varus (A.D. 9), and carried off the standard of the nineteenth legion. They were again roused to hostilities by the advance of Germanicus (A.D. 14), but were defeated by Lucius Stertinius (Ch. 60).

**Brutus, Lucius**, according to the legend, feigned stupidity to escape death at the hands of Tarquin the Arrogant. On the death of Lucretia he threw off the mask, and induced the people to expel their king. He was then chosen one of the two consuls for the year (B.C. 509).

**Brutus, Decimus**, first became known as one of Julius Caesar's officers, under whom he served in the Gallic and civil wars. He was then placed in command of Further Gaul, and was actually promised that of Cisalpine Gaul (B.C. 44), when he joined in the conspiracy which resulted in the murder of his old general. A dispute with Antonius about the last-named province led to open war, and Brutus was blockaded in Mutina. The siege was raised by the help of the consuls Hirtius and Pansa, and he escaped for a while, but in B.C. 43 was betrayed to Antonius, and put to death by him with the assent of Octavius.

**Brutus, Marcus Junius**, the brother of the preceding, also received many benefits from Caesar, who pardoned him after the battle of Pharsalia, invested him with the government of Cisalpine Gaul (B.C. 46), and was preparing to bestow that of Macedonia upon him. The

influence of Cassius, and the legend of his ancestor Lucius, worked upon his feeble mind, and he took an active part in the murder of the dictator. After staying a short time in Italy, he set out together with Cassius for the East (43). The confederates united forces in Syria, and marched by way of Macedonia into Thessaly, where they were encountered by the forces of the Julian party led by Antonius and Octavius. Two battles were fought at Philippi, after the latter of which Brutus fell on his sword.

## C.

**Caesar, Caius Julius**, was born in B.C. 100. He entered public life in B.C. 78, when he prosecuted Cn. Dolabella for extortion in Macedonia. After a stay in Rhodes, for the purpose of studying oratory, he embraced the views of the popular party, and was accepted as leader of the Marians. His conduct as quaestor (68), aedile (65), and praetor (62), increased his popularity. In 61 he commenced his career as a soldier by defeating the Lusitanians, while proprætor of Hispania Ulterior. On returning to Rome he entered into the compact with Pompeius and Crassus, known as the First Triumvirate. In B.C. 58 he went to Gaul, and in that country a series of eight campaigns resulted in important additions to the Roman dominions, and in building up renown and military support for himself. Meanwhile Crassus had perished in the East, and the only rival now left was Pompeius, who had come to terms with the Senate, and was backed by its whole influence. The demands made by the oligarchy that he should retire into private life, were vetoed by the tribunes, but ineffectually. Caesar then crossed the Rubicon (B.C. 49). In the following year he defeated Pompeius at Pharsalia, and completed the rout of the Senatorians at Thapsus in Africa (B.C. 46), and at Munda in Spain (B.C. 45). His power was now secure; but his unwise attempts to obtain the hateful title and attributes of *rex* led to a conspiracy against his life, and he was murdered in the senate-house on the Ides of March, B.C. 44.

**Caesar, Gaius**, the son of M. Vipsanius Agrippa and Julia, the daughter of Augustus, died in Lycia of a wound which he had received in Armenia A.D. 4 (Ch. 2).

**Caesar, Lucius**, brother of the foregoing, died at Massilia in A.D. 2, when on his way to the Spanish army (Ch. 2). The deaths of these young princes opened the way for the recall and recognition of Tiberius as successor, and they were accordingly ascribed by groundless rumours of the time to the machinations of Livia.

**Caecina, Aulus**, won distinction when governor of Moesia in A.D. 6. At the commencement of Tiberius' reign he was in command of the four legions stationed in Germania Inferior. When the mutiny broke out among his troops he showed some lack of nerve, and delivered up to the rebels a centurion, Septimius, who had fled to him for refuge (Ch. 32). He was successful when fighting under



Germanicus against Arminius in A.D. 15, and received in consequence the insignia of a triumph.

**Caesia Silva** (*Coesfeld* ?), probably between the Lippe and the Yssel.

**Caetronius, C.**, the legate of the first legion (Ch. 41).

**Caligula**, son of Germanicus and Agrippina, was so called from wearing in his boyhood the *caligae* of the soldiers (Ch. 41). His real name was Gaius Caesar. He succeeded to the throne on the death of Tiberius (A.D. 37), and was murdered four years later by Cassius Chaerea and others.

**Calpurnius**, a standard-bearer mentioned in Ch. 39.

**Capito, Ateius**, an eminent jurist, was appointed *Curator aquarum publicarum* in A.D. 13, and held this office until his death in A.D. 22. When the Tiber overflowed its banks in A.D. 15 he was appointed, together with L. Arruntius, to devise some remedy (Ch. 76).

**Cassius, C., Longinus**, rescued the remnant of Crassus' forces and led them back to Syria (B.C. 53). In the civil war he took the part of Pompeius, whose fleet he commanded. In B.C. 48 he surrendered to Caesar, who spared his life, made him praetor, and promised him the province of Syria (B.C. 44). He was foremost in plotting the dictator's death, after which he went to Syria. There he defeated Dolabella. Proceeding through Asia, the cities of which he plundered without mercy, he joined his forces with those of Brutus, and the two generals marched together to Philippi, where two battles were fought. Cassius committed suicide after the first.

**Cassius**, a mime (Ch. 73).

**Catonius, Justus**, a centurion of the first rank, selected by the discontented soldiers in Pannonia to share in the embassy to the Emperor (Ch. 29).

**Celer, Propertius**, a poor senator to whom a grant was made by Tiberius to help him to sustain his rank (Ch. 75).

**Cercina** (*Karkenah*), an island in the Lesser Syrtis, connected with a smaller island, Cercinitis, by means of a bridge. It was the place of exile of Sempronius Gracchus (Ch. 53).

**Chaerea, Cassius**, mentioned as cutting a way through the mutineers with his sword (Ch. 32). He afterwards became tribune of the praetorian cohorts, and took part in the assassination of Caligula (A.D. 41). He was put to death by Claudius.

**Chauci**, a powerful German tribe, who dwelt along the coast of the German Ocean between the Albis (*Elbe*) and the Amisia (*Emis*), being divided by the Visurgis (*Weser*) into *Majores* and *Minores*. For a time (*circa* A.D. 5) they assisted the Romans against the Cherusci, but the alliance was soon broken.

**Chatti**, a German tribe, situated between the Visurgis and the Rhine, in the district now known as Hesse and Nassau. Their chief town was Mattium.

**Cherusci**, the most celebrated of the German tribes, dwelt on both sides of the Visurgis. Under their chieftain Arminius they took the lead in expelling the Romans from Germany, and inflicted on the enemy the crushing defeat of the Saltus Teutoburgiensis, where

Varus was annihilated, A.D. 9. They were attacked by Germanicus in A.D. 15 with some success. They were ultimately overpowered by the Chatti, who then became the leading German tribe.

**Cinna, L.**, led the popular party at Rome from B.C. 87 to B.C. 84. One of his first acts as consul in B.C. 87 was to carry the recall of Marius. Expelled from the city by his colleague Octavius, he was soon joined by Marius, who had returned to Italy, and in conjunction with him captured Rome (B.C. 87). On the death of Marius he succeeded to his position, and was consul for the next three years in succession. In B.C. 84 he was slain by his soldiers as he was crossing to Greece with the intention of encountering Sulla.

**Clānis** (*Chiana*), a tributary of the Tiber, rises near Arretium, and forms two lakes to the W. of L. Trasimenus. It was proposed to unite it with the Arnus (Ch. 79).

**Claudius**, emperor from A.D. 41 to A.D. 54, was the younger son of Drusus, the brother of Tiberius. Somewhat weak in mind, he took no active part in public affairs during the reigns of Tiberius and Caligula. He is mentioned in Ch. 54 as forming one of the *collegium* of the *sodales Augusti*.

**Clemens, Iulius**, a centurion of the Pannonian legions, who was deputed by the soldiers to lay their grievances before Drusus (Ch. 23, 26). On the night of the eclipse he rendered good service by inducing the men to return to their allegiance, which he was able to do since he was at once popular with them and loyal to the Emperor (Ch. 28).

**Crassus, L.**, the richest of the Romans, was the representative of the moneyed interest in the state. He was consul for the first time in B.C. 70, when he assisted Pompeius in overthrowing the Sullan constitution. In B.C. 60 he joined Pompeius and Caesar in the coalition known as the First Triumvirate. Eager to secure his share of the spoil, he obtained Syria as his province, after being consul for a second time in B.C. 55. He set out for the East in B.C. 54, but attempted no serious operations during that year. But in the spring of B.C. 53 he marched to attack the Parthians by way of Mesopotamia. Not far from Carrhae his troops were defeated, and he was taken prisoner and slain. His head was sent to Orodes, who poured molten gold into the mouth to punish his insatiable covetousness.

#### D.

**Domitius, L., Ahenobarbus**, the grandfather of Nero, crossed the Elbe when in command of the Roman army. The long bridges which he had built to the E. of the Rhine were made use of by Germanicus and Caecina (Ch. 63). He died A.D. 25.

**Drusus, the Elder (Nero Claudius Drusus, later Germanicus)**, was the son of Tib. Claudius Nero and Livia, and consequently brother of Tiberius. He was born in B.C. 38, about three months after Augustus had married his mother. He was liked by the people, while his

aptitude for warfare caused him to be constantly employed by Augustus in the conflicts with the Northern tribes. He fought four brilliant campaigns between B.C. 12 and B.C. 9, and in the last of them carried the Roman arms to the Elbe. He would even have crossed that river had he not—according to the tale—been confronted by the gigantic apparition of a woman who barred his path. While leading back the army to the Rhine he fell from his horse, and died of his injuries shortly afterwards.

**Drusus**, the Younger, was the son of Tiberius by his first wife Vipsania. In A.D. 14 he was sent to quell the mutiny of the Pannonian legions (Ch. 24—30), and in the following year he was consul (Ch. 14. 55). He received the *tribunicia potestas* in B.C. 22, and, now that Germanicus was dead, everything pointed to him as the successor of Tiberius. But in the ensuing year he was poisoned by his wife, Livia, at the instigation of Seianus. His temper was reputed to be cruel, and this rendered him less popular than he would otherwise have been. He appears to have had some aptitude for speaking.

## E.

**Egnatius**, aedile in B.C. 20, and praetor in the following year, joined in a plot to assassinate Augustus through disappointment at failing to obtain the consulship. He was put to death in prison, B.C. 18.

**Ennius, M'.—v.l. Mennius**,—a praefect of the camp amongst the Chauci, A.D. 14 (Ch. 38).

## F.

**Falanius**, a Roman knight, accused of admitting a mime, Cassius, to the worship of Augustus, and of selling the Emperor's statue along with his gardens (Ch. 73). Tiberius declined to recognise this as *majestas*, and secured his acquittal (Ch. 73).

**Florentia**, a flourishing municipium of N. Etruria, situated on the Arnus (Ch. 79).

**Frisii**, a German tribe which inhabited the flat coast country (modern *Friesland*, *Grünigen*) between the Amisia and the mouths of the Rhine. They were on friendly terms with Rome, until oppression caused them to revolt in A.D. 28. In the fifth century they joined the Saxones and Angli in invading Britain.

## G.

**Gallia**, was divided by Augustus into four provinces—Gallia Narbonensis, Gallia Aquitania, Gallia Lugdunensis, and Gallia Belgica. Soon afterwards the portion of Belgica which adjoined the Rhine was subdivided into two new provinces, called from their German

inhabitants Germania Superior and Inferior. All of these, with the exception of Narbonensis (the old Provincia), were imperial provinces governed by the legati of the Emperor.

**Gallus, L. Asinius**, the son of Asinius Pollio, won reputation as an orator and writer. He incurred the hatred of Tiberius by marrying his divorced wife, Vipsania. He was consul in B.C. 8, and held a prominent place in the senate (see Ch. 8, 12, 76, 77). He was one of the three men spoken of by Augustus as possible candidates for the office of princeps: the Emperor's opinion was that he was *avidus et minor* (Ch. 13). In A.D. 30 he was sentenced to death by the senate at the instigation of Tiberius, and after three years' imprisonment died of starvation.

**Germania**, included the country from the Rhine to the Vistula, and from the Baltic to the Danube. The more important of the tribes mentioned in Book I. are, in order from north to south, the Chauci, Frisii, Marsi, Bructeri, Usipetes, Cherusci, and Chatti. These all inhabited the district between the Rhine and the Albis. The Cherusci, under the leadership of Arminius, exercised a sort of headship over the others, and took the chief part in overthrowing Varus and in offering resistance to Germanicus. The name Germaniae (Superior and Inferior) was given to two provinces on the west bank of the Rhine, which were detached from Belgica. They were defended by eight legions, under the command of Germanicus. The chief town of the upper province was Mogontiacum (*Mainz*), of the lower Ara Ubiorum, afterwards Colonia Agrippina (*Cologne*).

**Germanicus**, son of the elder Drusus and Antonia, was born B.C. 15. He was adopted by Tiberius during the life of Augustus, and assisted him in his campaigns against the Pannonians (A.D. 7-10) and the Germans (A.D. 11, 12). He was in command of the Rhine frontier when Augustus died. The mutinous soldiers offered to make him Emperor in place of Tiberius, but he refused; and when the rebellion was quelled, led them against the Marsi (A.D. 14), and in the subsequent year made his way to the Saltus Teutoburgiensis, where he buried the bones of the slaughtered legions. On his way back to the Rhine he was attacked by Arminius and Inguimerus, and beat off the foe with difficulty. He crossed the Rhine a third time in A.D. 16, and inflicted further defeats on Arminius. He was then recalled to Rome, where he celebrated a triumph. Subsequently he set out for the East to take the supreme command there. He died in A.D. 19, poisoned, as the people believed, by his enemy Piso, and not without the knowledge of Tiberius, jealous of his popularity with the legionaries and people alike.

**Gracchus, Sempronius**, banished to Cercina for an intrigue with Julia, whom he incited to write letters of complaint to Augustus about her husband Tiberius. He was put to death in A.D. 14 (Ch. 53). He was a man of some literary ability (*sollers ingenio et prave facundus*), and is perhaps the tragic writer of that name mentioned by Ovid,



## H.

**Haterius, Q.**, a senator and rhetorician of the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. On one occasion he offended Tiberius, but escaped by invoking the assistance of Livia (Ch. 13).

**Hirtius, A.**, a warm personal friend of Julius Caesar, whose legate he was in Gaul, and who nominated him as one of the consuls for B.C. 43. He entered on office in that year, but threw in his lot with the Senate, and with his colleague Pansa marched against Antonius, who was blockading Dec. Brutus in Mutina. After the death of his colleague he gained a victory, but fell mortally wounded, as rumour asserted, at the hands of his own soldiers and by the treachery of Octavius (Ch. 10).

**Hispo.** is mentioned in Ch. 74 as the prototype of the class of *delatores*.

## I.

**Illyricum**, in its narrowest sense, the coastline of the Hadriatic between Istria and Macedonia, but it is used to include Noricum and Pannonia in addition.

**Inguimerus**, uncle of Arminius, whose advice to attack the camp of Germanicus led to the defeat of the Cherusicans. He left the field badly wounded (Ch. 68).

**Interamnates**, the people of Interamna, a town situated on the Nar, and, according to tradition, the birthplace of Tacitus (Ch. 79).

**Julia**, the profligate daughter of Augustus, married thrice—(1) her cousin Marcellus; (2) M. Agrippa, by whom she had a considerable family; (3) Tiberius, whom her contemptuous treatment and unregulated life sent into retirement at Rhodes B.C. 6. In B.C. 2 the knowledge of her conduct came to the ears of the Emperor, who banished her to Pandateria. Thence she was removed to Rhégium. Tiberius, on ascending the throne, allowed her scarcely the necessities of life, and she died soon after. See Genealogical Table, Introd. § 6.

**Iulus, Antonius**, son of the triumvir by Fulvia, was honoured by Augustus with office and alliance with the imperial family. An intrigue with Julia brought about his ruin, and he committed suicide (Ch. 10).

## L.

**Lentulus, Cnaeus**, surnamed Gaetulicus from his victories over the Gaetuli, an African tribe. He was sent to assist Drusus in quelling the insurrection in Pannonia, but was attacked by the soldiers, and narrowly escaped death (Ch. 27).

**Lepidus, M. Aemilius**, joined Caesar in the civil war (B.C. 49), and was entrusted with the government of Italy when his leader was absent in Spain. In B.C. 44 he was elected pontifex maximus, and

in the same year entered upon the government of Gallia Narbonensis. At first neutral, he joined Antonius after the defeat of Mutina. Then proclaimed a public enemy by the senate, he crossed the Alps and assisted in forming the Second Triumvirate (B.C. 43). He remained to take charge of Italy in B.C. 42, and after the battle of Philippi received Africa as his share of the Roman world. He failed in an attempt to gain Sicily (B.C. 36), and thenceforth lived at Circeii under surveillance. He died B.C. 12.

**Lepidus, M'. Aemilius**, consul in A.D. 11, said by Augustus to be capable of empire, but not desiring it (Ch. 13). He obtained the government of Asia in A.D. 21. He is to be distinguished from **Lepidus, M. Aemilius**, who was consul in A.D. 6, and a favourite servant of both Augustus and Tiberius.

**Livia Drusilla**, was the wife of Tib. Claudius Nero, when Augustus procured her divorce and married her, B.C. 38. She had borne one son, the future Emperor Tiberius, to her first husband, and three months after her second marriage became mother of the elder Drusus. Notwithstanding the rumours which were directed against her, accusing her of hastening the death of the young princes Gaius and Lucius Caesar, and even of poisoning Augustus, she appears to have filled a difficult position with tact and ability. On the accession of Tiberius, for whose interests she had shown incessant care, she attempted to interfere in the government, but was speedily checked by the Emperor, who even vetoed the honours decreed by an obsequious senate (Ch. 4). When she died in A.D. 29, Tiberius neglected to be present at the funeral rites, and forbade her consecration.

**Lollius**, when governor of Gaul in B.C. 16, was defeated by some Usipetes and Tencteri, who crossed the Rhine and captured the eagle of a legion. He accompanied L. Caesar to the East in B.C. 2, but feeling himself disliked by the prince, poisoned himself.

**Lucilius**, a centurion, better known as *Cedo Alteram*, Ch. 23.

**Lupia (Lippe)**, a small German stream, which rises in the Saltus Teutoburgiensis, and after a course due west falls into the Rhine.

## M.

**Macedonia**, was reduced to a Roman province in B.C. 146. It extended from the Aegean to the Adriatic, and was bounded to the N. by Illyricum and Moesia, to the S. by Achaia. Its chief cities were Thessalonica, Dyrrhacium, and Philippi. Under the Augustan régime it was assigned to the senate, but early in Tiberius' reign transferred at the request of the provincials to the Emperor (Ch. 76).

**Macer, Pompeius**, Ch. 72.

**Maecenas, C. Cilnius**, the great minister of Augustus, was descended from a noble Etruscan family, though holding only the equestrian rank in the Roman state. After B.C. 40 he was busily engaged in public affairs; he conducted numerous negotiations with Antonius,

and directed the government of Italy when Augustus was absent at Actium. About B.C. 20 differences arose between him and the Emperor, and he retired into private life, dying in B.C. 8. He was famous for his patronage of literary men, and wrote a little himself.

**Marcellus, M.**, nephew and (after B.C. 25) adopted son of Augustus, who gave him his daughter Julia in marriage, and destined him to be his successor. He died in B.C. 23, when only twenty years of age, to the great sorrow of the people. This Vergil has commemorated in a well-known passage (*Æn.*, VI., 861—886).

**Marcellus, Granius**, Ch. 74.

**Marcia**, Ch. 5.

**Marius**, a native of Arpinum, of obscure family, first distinguished himself by his valour at the siege of Numantia (B.C. 134). He gained his first office—that of tribune—in B.C. 119. Others followed, though slowly, and in B.C. 109 he went to Africa as legate of Metellus in the Jugurthine War. Consul two years later, he was elevated to the supreme command, and brought the conflict to a close in B.C. 106 by the capture of the Numidian monarch. The formidable attack of the northern tribes caused Marius to be recognized as the one man capable of saving Rome, and he was elected to five successive consulships between B.C. 104 and B.C. 100. He justified the confidence placed in him by the victories of Aquæ Sextiæ and Vercellæ. In his sixth consulship (B.C. 100) he sided with Saturninus and the extreme party. As a consequence he lost most of his influence. He did little until B.C. 88, when his desire to command in the first Mithridatic war brought him into collision with Sulla. He was compelled to flee from Italy, but returned in B.C. 87, and was made consul for the seventh time. He had only just entered on office when he died, B.C. 86.

**Marsi**, a German tribe, who from Ch. 51 appear to have occupied the country between the Lupia and the Rura in A.D. 15. Afterwards they were driven further into the interior.

**Mattium** (perhaps *Maden*), the chief town of the Chatti (Ch. 56), situated on or near the Adrana.

**Maximus, Fabius**, is said to have attended Augustus on his secret visit to Agrippa Postumus. He related the occurrence to his wife Marcia, whence the thing became known, and he died shortly afterwards (Ch. 5).

**Messala, Valerius**, son of the celebrated Messala Corvinus, was consul in B.C. 3. Like his father he patronised literature, and among his friends were Ovid and Tibullus. His name occurs in Ch. 8.

**Moësia**, bounded on the N. by the Danube, on the E. by the Euxine, and on the S. and W. by the provinces of Thracia, Macedonia, and Illyricum, coincided in extent with the modern Servia and Bulgaria. It was subdued during the reign of Augustus, and constituted an imperial province by Tiberius, who appointed Poppeus Sabinus its governor (Ch. 80). It was garrisoned by two legions.

## N.

**Nar** (*Nera*), a river of central Italy, rises in the Apennines, and, flowing S.W. as the boundary between the Sabini and Umbria, falls into the Tiber.

**Nauportus** (*Ober-Laybach* in Carniola), an important commercial town situated on a tributary of the Savus in S. Pannonia.

**Nola** (*Nola*), an ancient Campanian city, twenty miles S.E. of Capua. In the second Punic war it showed conspicuous fidelity to Rome. Augustus died there, in the same house and room in which his father Octavius expired (Ch. 9).

**Norbanus, C. Flaccus**, consul in A.D. 15 (Ch. 55).

## O.

**Octavius, C.**, the father of Augustus, administered Macedonia with integrity in B.C. 60, and died at Nola soon after his return to Italy.

## P.

**Palatium**, the residence of Tiberius, so called from its position on the Mons Palatinus (Ch. 13).

**Pandateria** (*Vendutene*), an islet off the Campanian coast, and for five years the scene of the banishment of Julia, Augustus' daughter (Ch. 53).

**Pannonia**, an important frontier province, was bounded on the N. and E. by the Danube, on the S. and W. by Noricum and Illyricum. It thus included the western provinces of the Austrian empire. The Pannonians were subdued in B.C. 35, but in A.D. 7 broke out into a determined revolt, which was only repressed by Tiberius after three arduous campaigns (A.D. 7—10). On account of its important strategic position Pannonia was placed among the imperial provinces of the first class, and occupied by a large number of troops. Of these there were in A.D. 14 three legions, whose mutiny is described in Ch. 16—30; they were afterwards increased to seven.

**Pansa, C. Vibius**, tribune in B.C. 51, supported Julius Caesar in the Civil War, and was made by him governor of Cisalpine Gaul in B.C. 46. Like his friend Hirtius, with whom he was created consul, he sided with the senate against Antonius in B.C. 43. He fell in the first battle before Mutina. Idle talk attributed his death to poison poured into his wounds at the command of Octavius (Ch. 10).

**Pedius, Q.**, Ch. 10.

**Percennius**, first the leader of a gang of theatrical *claqueurs*, afterwards a common soldier in Pannonia, and foremost in causing the mutiny. He was put to death when the tumult was over (Ch. 16, 29).

**Piso, Cn.**, consul in A.D. 7, is mentioned as taking part in the debates of the senate (Ch. 74). For the opinion which, according



to one story, Augustus had of him, see Ch. 13. In A.D. 18, when Germanicus was despatched to the East with the *maius imperium*, Piso was made governor of Syria, and, in conjunction with his wife Plancina, did his utmost to thwart his plans. The death of Germanicus in A.D. 19 was consequently laid at their door—probably unjustly—and the matter was brought before the senate. But before the inquiry could be completed, Piso was found dead by his own hand. Plancina escaped through the influence of Livia. It is noteworthy that in his case Tacitus mentions all three methods of criminal jurisdiction. He was threatened with trial before the praetor (*de reuencitiis*, II., 79). He was brought before the consuls, petitioned *ut cognitionem apud principem exciperet*, who, however, *integram causam ad senatum remittit* (III., 10).

**Planasia** (*Pianosa*), an island in the Tyrrhenian Sea between Corsica and Etruria, whither Agrippa Postumus was banished (Ch. 3).

**Plancus, Munatius**, head of the mission to the German armies, A.D. 14 (Ch. 39).

**Plinius, C.**, the Elder, was a voluminous writer, the greatest of whose works was the *Historia Naturalis*. He also wrote a history of the Germanic wars in twenty books (Ch. 69), which he was the more competent to describe owing to military service and travels in that country. He perished in the great eruption of Vesuvius, A.D. 79.

**Pollio, C. Asinius**, father of Gallus Pollio (*q.v.*), was born B.C. 76. He soon gained reputation as a lawyer. In the civil wars he was a consistent supporter of Julius Caesar, and served in the campaigns of Pharsalia, Thapsus, and Munda. He pursued the same policy on the second triumvirate being formed in B.C. 43. and joined the army chiefs against the senate. He helped to reconcile Octavius and Antonius at Brundisium, B.C. 40, and was employed in various wars until B.C. 39, when he withdrew from public life. He won reputation as a historian and poet, and vied with Maecenas in his generous treatment of literature.

**Pompeius, Cn., Magnus**, born in B.C. 106, served when a mere youth in the Social war, and in B.C. 83 was hailed by Sulla as emperor. In the next few years he was engaged in hostilities with the Marians, succeeding in crushing the most formidable, Sertorius, in Spain, B.C. 71. On his return to Rome he quarrelled with the senate, and mutilated the Sullan constitution. By this time a great favourite with the people, the Gabinian law of B.C. 67 gave him enormous powers against the pirates, while the Manilian law of the ensuing year invested him with the supreme command against Mithridates. His Asiatic campaigns were a series of triumphs, but after his re-entry in home politics (B.C. 61) a number of mistakes rendered him equally unpopular with senate and people. At first a partner of Caesar in the First Triumvirate (B.C. 60), he broke with his ally about B.C. 51, and was accepted by the senate as their champion. In the civil war he showed strange irresolution in quitting Italy. In B.C. 48 he was defeated at Pharsalia, and fled to Egypt, where he was murdered.

**Pompeius, Sextus**, younger son of the triumvir, escaped almost alone from the field of Munda (B.C. 45). The general confusion which followed the death of Caesar enabled him to collect a fleet, with which he established himself in Sicily. His naval forces allowed him to cut off the corn supplies from Rome, and the scarcity caused such disturbance in the capital that the triumvirs were compelled to admit Sextus into partnership at the treaty of Misenum (B.C. 39). War, however, broke out in the following year. It terminated in the annihilation of Sextus' power by Agrippa at Naulochus, off the northern coast of Sicily, near Mylae, B.C. 36. Sextus fled to Lesbos, and was put to death by some of Antonius' officers in Asia, B.C. 35.

**Pompeius, Sextus**, Ch. 7.

## R.

**Raetia**, in its most limited sense, corresponded to the Grisons of Switzerland and the Tyrol, but it often included in addition the more northerly province of Vindelicia (cf. Illyricum for a similar extension of meaning). The Raeti were subdued in B.C. 15 by Drusus and Tiberius. The province was of course imperial. It was of the third class, governed by a *procurator imperatoris*.

**Ravenna**, in Gallia Cisalpina, situated amid marshes one mile from the Hadriatic. Augustus made it one of the great naval stations. Here the captive son of Arminius was brought up (Ch. 58).

**Reatini**, the people of Reate (*Rieti*), a town of the Sabines on the river Nar, just above the Lacus Velinus.

**Reginorum**, the people of Rhegium (*Reggio*), a town on the Siculum Fretum, opposite to Messana. Here Julia lived in exile from A.D. 7 until her death (Ch. 53).

**Rhenus** (*Rhine*), the frontier river between Gallia and non-Roman Germania. In the time of Tiberius it was defended by eight legions.

**Rhodes**, the easternmost island of the Aegean, off the coast of Caria. Thither Tiberius retired in B.C. 6. He did not return to Rome until A.D. 2. The city, also named Rhodes, was at the commencement of the Christian era one of the chief seats of learning in the East, besides being a great commercial centre.

**Rubrius, C.**, accused of swearing falsely by the name of the deified Augustus, Ch. 73.

**Rufus, Aufidienus**, praefect of the camp at Nauportus, Ch. 20.

## S.

**Sabinus, Poppaeus**, appointed governor of Moesia in A.D. 9, continued to hold that province, with the addition of Achaia and Macedonia (Ch. 80), until his death in A.D. 35. He was grandfather of Poppaea, the wife of Nero.

**Sallustius, C., Crispus**, grandson of the sister of the historian, and adopted by the latter, became the principal adviser of Augustus after

the retirement of Maecenas. He continued in favour under Tiberius (he is called *particeps secretorum*, Ch. 6) until his death in A.D. 20.

**Scaurus, Mamercus**, an orator and poet, offended Tiberius by a speech in the senate (Ch. 13). The Emperor concealed his resentment at the time. In A.D. 34 Scaurus was accused of *majestas*, and killed himself.

**Segestes**, a Cheruscan chieftain, who favoured the Romans in opposition to Arminius. He warned Varus of his danger (Ch. 55). In A.D. 14 he went over to Germanicus, who received him graciously, and assigned him a settlement in the Roman province (Ch. 58).

**Segimerus**, brother of the above (Ch. 71).

**Segimundus**, son of Segestes (Ch. 57).

**Severus, Cassius**, Ch. 72.

**Seianus, Aelius**, son of Seius Strabo, commander of the praetorian cohorts, was appointed his father's colleague in A.D. 14 (Ch. 24). He accompanied Drusus to Pannonia in the same year. His influence over Tiberius was very great as early as A.D. 15 (Ch. 69), and constantly increased. He brought about the murder of Drusus, the heir to the throne, in A.D. 23. The death of Livia (A.D. 29) rendered Tiberius still more pliant in his minister's hands. Recognizing at last that his throne was in danger, he sent Macro to secure the allegiance of the praetorians. When this was done the *verbosa et grandis epistula* reached the senate from Capreae, and Seianus was put to death, A.D. 31.

**Silius, C.**, legate of the legions in Upper Germany, was decreed triumphal honours in A.D. 15 (Ch. 72). He was put to death in A.D. 24. His son of the same name was the lover of Messalina.

**Sirpicius**, a centurion threatened in the Pannonian mutiny (note, Ch. 24).

**Sertinius**, Ch. 71.

**Strabo, Seius**, father of Seianus, was prefect of the praetorians, and later governor of Egypt (Ch. 7).

**Suebi**, a generic name for the German tribes dwelling between the Baltic and the Danube, who had entered into a loose confederation. The name survives in *Swabia* (the modern Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Baden).

**Sulla, L. Cornelius**, served under Marius in the Jugurthine War, and effected the surrender of Jugurtha B.C. 106. Elected consul in B.C. 88, he received, in spite of the opposition of Marius, the command in the first Mithridatic war. After driving his rival from Italy, he set out for the East (B.C. 87), and expelled the forces of Mithridates from Greece by the victories of Orchomenus and Chaeronea. He was equally successful in Asia, and imposed his own conditions of peace on the Pontic king in B.C. 84. He then returned to Italy, now in the hands of the Marians, and step by step fought his way to the capital. He gained possession of Rome in B.C. 82, secured the city by the battle at the Colline Gate, and inaugurated his rule by a wholesale proscription of the opposite party. He then passed the *Leges*

*Corneliæ*, which aimed at placing the supreme power with the senate. He died B.C. 78.

## T.

**Tamfana**, a German deity (Ch. 51).

**Tarraconensis Colonia** (*Tarragona*), founded by Julius Caesar, the capital of Hispania Tarraconensis. A temple was erected by the inhabitants to Augustus in A.D. 15 (Ch. 78).

**Tanus Mons**, a ridge of mountains running in a northerly direction through the country of the Chatti, and not far from the Rhine.

**Teutoburgiæ Saltus** (*Teutoburger Wald*), a forest-clad range of hills, lying between the Amisia and the Visurgis, and the scene of the Varian disaster, A.D. 9.

**Tiberis** (*Tevere*), rises in the Apennines near Tifernum, then flows south, forming the boundary between Etruria and Umbria, and falls into the sea at Ostia. It receives on the right bank the Clanis, on the left the Nar and Anio and Allia. Its overflowings frequently did great damage to Rome (Ch. 79).

**Tiberius Claudius Nero** (*Ti. Caesar Augustus*), born B.C. 42, was the son of Tib. Claudius Nero and Livia. He was early employed in important negotiations and wars. At the age of twenty-two he was sent to make Tigranes king of Armenia, and to settle the affairs of that distracted country. In B.C. 15 he, together with his younger brother Drusus, was engaged in subduing Rhaetia. Two years later he obtained the highest office in the state—the consulship. But his honours were dearly bought by the forced abandonment of his wife Vipsania (*g.v.*) in B.C. 11. The new wife whom he took in her place—the Emperor's daughter Julia—treated him with unconcealed contempt, and committed acts of shameless excess. Another misfortune which befel him about this time was the death of his brother Drusus while campaigning on the Rhine frontier. Tiberius, who was then engaged in the subjection of the Delmatians and Pannonians, hurried to Germany, but arrived only in time to close his brother's eyes (B.C. 9). He then took the place of Drusus in the North, and campaigned against the German tribes in B.C. 8 and the following year. Meanwhile the profligacy of Julia was becoming more notorious every day; the youthful princes, Gaius and Lucius Caesar, seemed destined to succeed to the throne; and so Tiberius, feeling his present mode of life unendurable, took the resolution of retiring to Rhodes, and leaving the turmoil of public life to others. He lived there quietly until A.D. 2, when the death of Lucius Caesar enabled him to return to Rome. His wife had been banished by Augustus in B.C. 2, and in A.D. 4 the death of Gaius Caesar left a gap in the imperial family which could only be filled by his adoption. In the same year he was recognized as the Emperor's heir by being invested with the *tribunicia potestas*. In A.D. 13 he became the colleague of Augustus in the *imperium* (*i.e.* the *proconsulare imperium*),



and his virtual partner in the government. Immediately after his adoption by the Emperor, he was sent to take the command of the legions on the German frontier. After gaining some successes beyond the Rhine he was transferred to Illyricum (A.D. 6), where he remained until the Varian disaster (A.D. 9) recalled him for operations against the German tribes. He celebrated a triumph at Rome (A.D. 12), and was preparing to resume command of the army in Illyricum when the death of Augustus occurred. He peacefully succeeded to the principate, though mutinies broke out in Pannonia and Germania, which were with difficulty suppressed by Drusus and Germanicus. About A.D. 21 he fell under the influence of Seianus, the prefect of the praetorian guards, who induced him to take up his residence at Capreae in A.D. 27. He was never seen again in Rome. The death of his mother, Livia, which occurred in A.D. 29, seems to have removed a wholesome restraint, and the last years of his reign are marked by confiscation and bloodshed. He freed himself from the influence of Seianus in A.D. 31. He died A.D. 37 at Misenum, and was succeeded by Caligula, the son of Germanicus. For some account of his character, which has been very variously estimated, see *Hist. Aug. and Tib.*, Ch. X.

**Titus Tatius**, king of the Sabines, and joint ruler with Romulus of the amalgamated Sabines and Romans (Ch. 54).

**Treveri**, a tribe of Gallia Belgica, on the left of the lower Rhine, noted for their loyalty to the Romans. The chief town in their country was Augusta Treverorum (*Trèves*).

**Tubantes**, a German tribe, who varied their position considerably from time to time. Germanicus found them inhabiting the country to the immediate south of the Lupia (*R. Lippe*).

**Turranius, C.**, chief corn commissioner (Ch. 7).

## U.

**Ubii**, a German tribe originally dwelling east of the Rhine, were transported to the left bank of the river by Agrippa, in order to escape the hostilities of the Suebi. Their chief town was round the Ara Ubiorum, and was afterwards named Colonia Agrippinensis (*Cologne*).

**Usipetes**, a German tribe, who crossed the Rhine under the pressure of the Suebi, but were driven back by Caesar, and in the time of Tiberius were settled in the neighbourhood of the Lupia (*Westphalia*).

## V.

**Valerius Corvus**, one of the most famous heroes of the old republic, is said to have gained his surname through a raven assisting him in a combat with a gigantic Gaul, B.C. 349. He was six times consul between B.C. 348 and B.C. 299, and twice dictator. His most famous exploits were in the first Samnite war.

**Varro**, the name by adoption of **L. Licinius Muraena**, who plotted the murder of Augustus in conjunction with Fannius Caepio, B.C. 23.

**Varus, Q.**, see on Ch. 3.

**Vedius Pollio**, a man of equestrian rank and enormous wealth, who is said to have amused himself by throwing his slaves when alive to feed his fish; this, too, when Augustus was present.

**Velinus Lacus**, near Reate, formed by the overflow of the river Velinus.

**Vetera**, otherwise *Castra Vetera* (*Xanten*), on the Gallic bank of the Rhine, sixty Roman miles from the *oppidum Ubiorum* (Ch. 45).

**Vibulenus**, a leader in the Pannonian mutiny, who raised a tumult against Blaesus by accusing him of putting his brother to death (Ch. 22). He was put to death when the revolt was quelled (Ch. 29).

**Vipsania**, daughter of the great Agrippa and wife of Tiberius, who was compelled by Augustus, for reasons of succession, to divorce her and marry Julia (B.C. 11). She had already borne a son—the younger Drusus. She afterwards married Asinius Gallio (*q.v.*), and died in A.D. 20.

**Vitellius, P.**, uncle of the future Emperor of that name, served under Germanicus (Ch. 70). He afterwards impeached Cn. Piso.

# TEST PAPERS ON TACITUS, ANNALS I.

## FIRST SERIES.

NOTE.—Students to whom the language of Tacitus presents any considerable difficulty are advised on first reading the book to attend only to Questions 1 and 2 in each Test Paper in the First Series. The points raised in the remaining questions should, however, be looked up at some time before the Examination.

### TEST PAPER 9. (Ch. 1—9.)

1. Translate :—(a) Ch. 7, *Nam Tiberius ... expectare mallet.*  
                                   (b) Ch. 8, *Remisit Caesar ... quies foret.*  
                                   (c) Ch. 9, *Hi pietate ... quies esset.*

Write a few short historical notes in explanation of (c).

2. Give the meaning of *admodum*, *quotus quisque*, *in cassum*, *rerum potiri*, *quandoque*, *excubiae*, *gloria*. What is there peculiar in Tacitus' use of *gnarus* and *adeptus*?

3. Explain the words and phrases, *Julianae partes*, *pontificatus*, *geminati consulatus*, *imperatoris nominibus aurit*, *puerilis praetexta*, *princeps iuventutis*, *in verba Caesaris iurare*, *edictum tribuniciae potestatis praescriptione posuit*.

4. Annotate :—

- (a) *Libertatem et consulatum L. Brutus instituit.*
- (b) *Neque decemviralis potestas ultra biennium neque tribunorum militum consulare ius diu valuit.*
- (c) *Vetere atque insita Claudiae familiae superbia.*
- (d) *Numerus consulatum celebrabatur, quo Valerium Corvum et C. Marium simul aequaverat.*

### TEST PAPER 10. (Ch. 10—19.)

1. Translate :—(a) Ch. 10, *Dicebatur contra ... laudatas.*  
                                   (b) Ch. 11, *Plus in oratione ... per invidiam.*  
                                   (c) Ch. 13, *Post quae L. Arruntius ... ausurum.*

Explain the historical allusions in (a).

2. What is the meaning of *proinde*, *libellum*, *ut ... ita ... nequaquam*, *civilis*, *repulsa*, *ambitus*, *castra aestiva*, *iustitium*, *gregarius miles*, *stipendium*, *orator*, *modestia*?

3. Write short accounts of the following persons :—Asinius Pollio, Asinius Gallus, Cn. Piso, Junius Blaesus.

4. Write a short life of Augustus.

### TEST PAPER 11. (Ch. 20—31.)

1. Translate :—(a) Ch. 21, *Horum adventu ... sibi iam miscent.*  
 (b) Ch. 23, *Incendebat haec ... aliam poscebat.*  
 (c) Ch. 31, *Igitur audito fine ... imperatores.*

2. Write short notes in explanation of the following terms : *manipulus*,  *vexillum*, *municipium*, *praefectus castrorum*, *sarcina*, *tribunal*, *vallum*, *apud patres agere*, *missio*, *vigiliae*, *stationes*, *custodiae portarum*, *emeritus*, *tiro*, *primi ordinis centurio*.

3. Give some description of the different classes of troops which made up the military forces of the empire. What was the strength and number of the legions at the death of Augustus? How many of these were stationed in Pannonia and the Germanies?

4. Write brief accounts of Vibulenus, Aelius Sejanus, and the younger Drusus.

### TEST PAPER 12. (Ch. 32—43.)

1. Translate :—(a) Ch. 34, *Et quidam ... audita sunt.*  
 (b) Ch. 39, *Utque mos vulgo ... commaculavisset.*  
 (c) Ch. 43, *Cur enim primo ... vinculum erit.*

2. Give the meanings of *neptis*, *vacationes*, *tabernaculum*, *exauctorari*, *viaticum*, *sacramentum*, *religio*, *aquilifer*, *fatalis*, *vilis*, *pronepos*, *intemeratus*, *precarius*. Distinguish *materia* and *ligna*, *auxilia* and *socii*, *ius* and *fas*. What is there peculiar about Tacitus' employment of the plural of *epistula* and the active voice of *coepi*?

3. Draw up a genealogical table showing the descent of Caius Caesar (Caligula) from Augustus and his relationship to Tiberius.

4. Enumerate briefly the various offices and powers assumed by Augustus, and show how each contributed to render him supreme in the state.



**TEST PAPER 13.** (Ch. 44—56.)

1. Translate :—(a) Ch. 44. *Stabant pro contione ... inde egit.*  
 (b) Ch. 47. *Inmotum ... provincias fefellit.*  
 (c) Ch. 51. *Pars equitum ... in hibernis locatur.*

2. Give the meanings of *suggestus*, *centurionatum agere*, *ferocia*, *carillor*, *causor*, *signifer*, *sincerus*, *piaculum*, *linex*, *concedes*, *incuria*, *caelum*, *tumultuarius*, *munitiones viarum*.

3. Give some account of the elder Julia, Arminius, Segestes, and define geographically *Pandateria*, *oppidum Reginorum*, *Cercina*. What were the *sodalium Augustalium sacerdotium* and the *sodales Titii*?

4. Describe the home policy of Augustus, and compare it with that of Tiberius.

**TEST PAPER 14.** (Ch. 57—67.)

1. Translate :—(a) Ch. 59. *Neque probris temperabat... sequerentur.*  
 (b) Ch. 64. *Barbari perfringere ... pateretur.*  
 (c) Ch. 65. *Simul haec ... diem lamentabantur.*

Turn into *oratio recta* extract (a) from *sibi tres* to end.

2. Parse *aria*, *nisi*, *oblitum*, *egeritur*. What is the meaning of *conscientia*, *civitate donari*, *novissimus*, *patibulum*, *auguratus*, *feralia*, *subsidiariae cohortes*, *portus decumana*, *principia*.

3. What was the extent of the Empire in A.D. 14? Describe the foreign policy of Augustus, and show how it was carried on in its main features by Tiberius.

4. Into what classes were the provinces divided during the early Empire? By what officials were they governed, and what evidence does *Annals* I. offer with regard to the preference shown by the provincials for the imperial or senatorial government?

**TEST PAPER 15.** (Ch. 68—81.)

1. Translate :—(a) Ch. 68. *Igitur orta die ... adversis incauti.*  
 (b) Ch. 69. *Id Tiberii animum ... promeret.*  
 (c) Ch. 73. *Rubrio crimini dabatur ... dis curae.*  
 (d) Ch. 74. *Nam egens ... dicta credebantur.*

2. Parse *reducem*, *ausim*. Give the meanings of *atrox*, *integer*, *famosus*, *mancipare*, *celeber*, *inevitabilis*, *decens sestertium*, *lucar*; and write explanatory notes on *nomen patris patriae*, *in acta Tiberii*

*iurare, lex maiestatis, pecuniae repetundae, recuperatores, aerarii praetores, libri Sibyllini.*

3. Draw a map of the Tiber and its tributaries. Also define geographically Florentia, Colonia Tarracensis, Arnus, Interamna, Reate, Velinus lacus.

4. *Either* sketch the methods of criminal jurisdiction under the Empire, *or* describe the steps by which a man mounted to the consulship.

5. Write a life of Tacitus, mentioning the works written by him and the authorities he used.

## SECOND SERIES.

### TEST PAPER 24. (Ch. 1—9.)

1. Translate :—(a) Ch. 2, Postquam Bruto ... periculosa mallent.  
(b) Ch. 8, Livia in familiam ... viritum dedit.

Explain the historical allusions in the first five lines of extract (a).

2. Comment on the case-usages in *three* of the following : (a) *servitio promptior*; (b) *subsidia dominationi*; (c) *remeare Armenia*; (d) *rudis bonarum artium*; (e) *flagitii compertus*; (f) *bellum adversus Germanos supererat abolendae magis infamiae ob amissum cum Quintilio Varo exercitum quam cupidine proferendi imperium*; (g) *iuxta periculoso ficta seu vera promeret*; (h) *ambiguus imperandi*; (i) *pessum dare*.

3. How does Tacitus depart from strict sequence of tense in dependent clauses? What deviation from Ciceronian Latin do you notice in *Germanicum adsciri per adoptionem a Tiberio iussit, quamquam esset in domo Tiberii filius iuvenis*?

4. Marcellus, M. Agrippa, Drusus the Elder, Gaius Caesar, Lucius Caesar :—what were the relations of each to the succession question during the reign of Augustus?

### TEST PAPER 25. (Ch. 10—19.)

1. Translate :—(a) Ch. 17, Ne dimissis quidem ... solveretur.  
(b) Ch. 19, Blaesus ... mandata darent.

Turn (b) into oratio recta from *non per seditionem* to end.

2. Explain the syntax of the words in italics in *three* of the following :—

- (a) *tempora reipublicae obtentui sumpta.*
- (b) *divisiones agrorum ne ipsis quidem qui fecere laudatas.*
- (c) *addiderat consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii, incertum metu an per invidiam.*
- (d) *uligines paludum, inculta montium.*
- (e) *cum Tiberii genua advolveretur.*
- (f) *Blaesus multa dicendi arte.*

3. Write short notes in explanation of *three* of the following expressions : *tributum, vectigal, necessitates et largitiones, relatio consulum, tribunicia potestas, intercedo, ara adoptionis, consul designatus, ambitus, Augustales ludi, dux theatralium operarum.*

4. Explain the historical allusions in :—

- (a) *Pompeium imagine pacis, Lepidum specie amicitiae deceptos.*
- (b) *Antonium Tarentino Brundisioque foedere et nuptiis sororis illectum.*
- (c) *Lollianas Varianasque clades.*
- (d) *Interfectos Romae Varrones, Egnatios, Iulos.*
- (e) *Ducta in matrimonium Vipsania, M. Agrippae filia, quae quondam Tiberii uxor fuerat.*

### TEST PAPER 26. (Ch. 20—31.)

1. Translate :—(a) Ch. 25. *Postquam vallum ... terrebantque.*  
 (a) Ch. 28. *Noctem minacem ... lamentantur.*

2. Comment on the case usage of the words in italics :—

- (a) *vetus operis et laboris.*
- (b) *rerum capitalium damnatos.*
- (c) *ne hostes quidem sepultura invident.*
- (d) *perferendis militum mandatis habebatur idoneus.*
- (e) *rector iuveni.*
- (f) *rudis dicendi.*
- (g) *corpora extra vallum abiecta ostentui.*

3. Give instances from Book I. of (a) abstract substantives equivalent to concrete, (b) the substantival use of adjectives, (c) irregular conditional sentences.

4. Describe the organization of a legion in the reign of Tiberius. What grievances of the soldiers led to the mutinies described in Book I.?

**TEST PAPER 27.** (Ch. 32—43.)

1. Translate :—(a) Ch. 35, *Ut seditionem ... quaeruntur.*  
(b) Ch. 42, *Non mihi uxor ... auctoritas.*
2. Convert extract (b) into oratio obliqua after a verb of saying in a past tense.
3. Explain the cases of (a) *animi ferox* ; (b) *miles obtulit gladium, addito acutiorem esse* ; (c) *progrediuntur contuberniis*. Why is the subjunctive used in (d) *eo usque flagitatus est donec ad exitium dederetur* ; (e) *tanta aequalitate et constantia ut regi crederes* ; (f) *feriret hortabantur* ? Comment on the reading *pergere ad Treveros externae fidei*.
4. Annotate historically :—  
(a) *Divus Iulius seditionem exercitus verbo uno compescuit.*  
(b) *Divus Augustus vultu et aspectu Actiacas legiones exterruit.*

**TEST PAPER 28.** (Ch. 44—56.)

1. Translate :—(a) Ch. 50, *Laeti neque procul ... ludicram.*  
(b) Ch. 55, *Arminius turbator ... infensos erant.*
2. Comment on the syntax of :—  
(a) *ut avellerentur castris trucibus.*  
(b) *nondum cognito, qui fuisset exitus in Illyrico.*  
(c) *Caesar classem demittere Rheno parat, bello certaturus.*  
(d) *obstantia silvarum.*  
(e) *incessit itineri et proelio.*  
(f) *amotus Cercinam, quattuordecim annis exilium tolerabat.*  
(g) *ut quondam Titus Tatius retinendis Sabinorum sacris sodales Titios instituerat.*
3. Give instances of Tacitus' peculiar use of *either* (a) the dative or (b) the ablative case.
4. Draw a map of Germany, and indicate therein the position of the Taunus Mountains and the Saltus Teutoburgiensis, the courses of the Rhine, Adrana, Lupia, Amisia, Visurgis, and Albis, the situation of the Chatti, Teneteri, Usipetes, Bructeri, Frisii, Chauci, Marsi, and Cherusci, and the sites of Mattium and Ara Ubiorum.



**TEST PAPER 29.** (Ch. 57—67.)

1. Translate :—(a) Ch. 61, Praemisso Caecina ... antefixa ora.  
(b) Ch. 65, Nox per diversa ... umentia ultra.

2. Write notes on the syntax of :—

- (a) quanto quis audacia *promptus*, tanto magis fidus.
- (b) ut *quibusque* bellum *invitis* aut *cupientibus* erat.
- (c) Caecinam *distrahendo hosti* mittit.
- (d) *vincula* elapsi.
- (e) *trudebantur* in paludem, ni Caesar productas legiones instruxisset.
- (f) monitus pontes longos *superare*.
- (g) neque tamen Arminius *quamquam libero incursu* statim prorupit.

3. Give instances of the peculiar style of Tacitus in the use of *either* (a) the genitive case, *or* (b) constructions of place, *or* (c) the subjunctive.

4. Give some particulars of Roman campaigns in Germany from the time of Drusus the Elder to that of Germanicus. What, at different periods, were the objects of these campaigns, and how far were they successful?

**TEST PAPER 30.** (Ch. 68—81.)

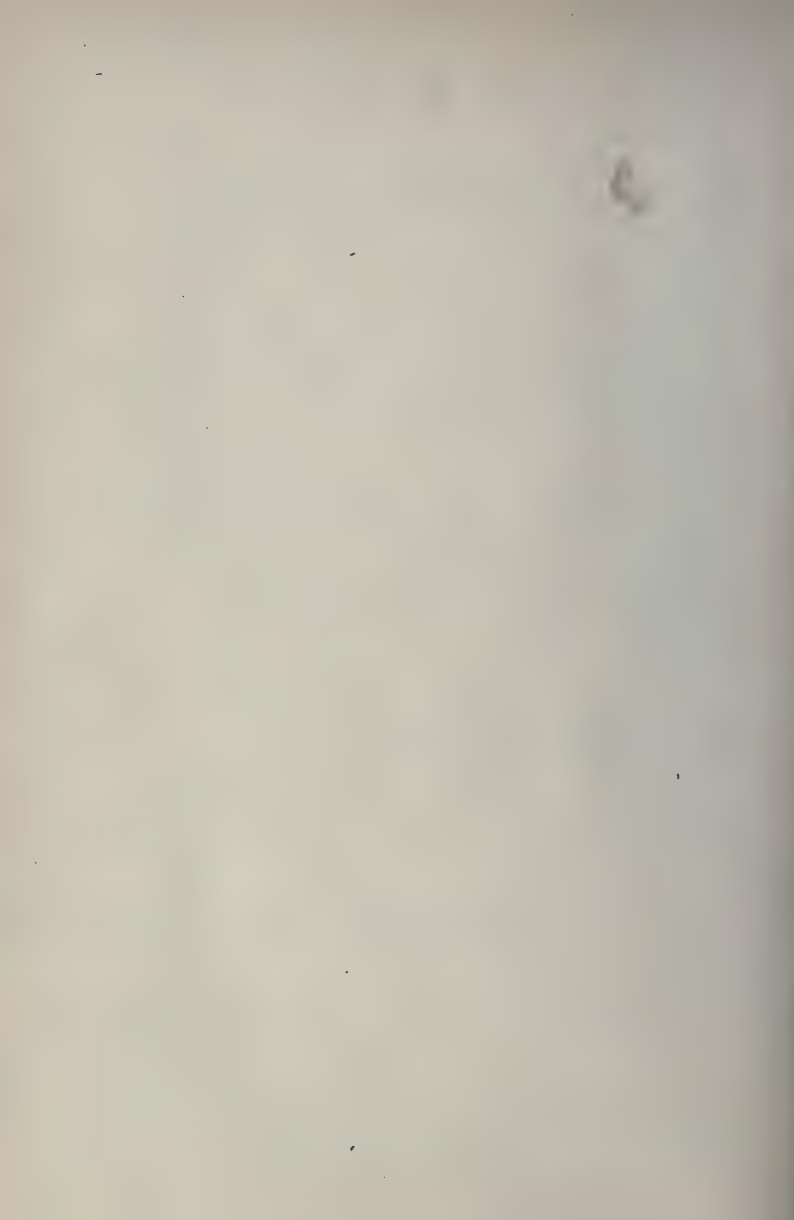
1. Translate :—Ch. 70, At Germanicus ... inglorium exitium.

2. Comment on the syntax of the words in italics :—

- (a) Arminio *sincerent* Romanos egredi suadente.
- (b) ni Agrippina impositum Rheno pontem solvi prohibuisset, *erant* qui id flagitium formidine *auderent*.
- (c) femina ingens *animi*.
- (d) Rubrio *crimini* dabatur.
- (e) *deorum* iniurias *dis* curae.
- (f) non *crediderim* ad ostentandam saevitiam concessam filio *materiam*.
- (g) id *morum* Tiberii fuit.

3. Give instances from Annals I. of (a) acc. of part concerned; (b) epexegetic infinitive; (c) subjunctive of repetition; (d) rare constructions of gerund and gerundive.

4. Relate, without going into detail, the life of Tiberius. Into what periods does Tacitus divide his life? Give his judgment on the period comprised in Annals I., and criticise its fairness.









# VOCABULARY.

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## I.

ad tempus.....	adv. phrase, <i>to meet the exigencies of the time.</i>
potestas.....	potestas, -tatis, f., <i>power</i> (official).
ius.....	ius, iuris, n., <i>rights.</i>
valuit.....	valeo, -ēre, -ui, -itum ( <i>be strong</i> ), <i>be of duration.</i>
potentia.....	potentia, -ae, f., <i>power</i> (personal).
cito.....	adv., <i>soon.</i>
cuncta.....	cunctus, -a, -um, <i>all</i> ; here, <i>the whole state.</i>
memorata.....	memoro, -are, <i>to narrate.</i>
decora.....	decorus, -a, -um, <i>brilliant.</i>
ingenia.....	ingenium, -ii, n., <i>intellect.</i>
gliscente.....	glisco, -ēre, <i>to grow.</i>
florentibus.....	floreo, ēre, -ui ( <i>to flourish</i> ), <i>to be alive.</i>

## II.

oppressus.....	opprimo, -ēre, -pressi, -pressum, <i>to crush.</i>
exuto.....	exuo, -ēre, -ui, -utum, <i>to strip.</i>
posito.....	pono, -ēre, posui, positum, <i>to lay aside.</i>
annona.....	annona, -ae, f., <i>a donation of corn.</i>
pellexit.....	pellicio, -ēre, -lexi, -lectum, <i>to win over.</i>
munia.....	munia, -orum, n. pl., <i>functions.</i>
acies.....	acies, -ei, f. ( <i>a line of troops</i> ); here, <i>a battle-field.</i>
novis rebus.....	novae res, phrase, <i>revolution.</i>
statum.....	status, -us, m., <i>condition.</i>
ambitu.....	ambitus, -us, m., <i>intrigue.</i>

## III.

subsidia.....	subsidium, -ii, n., <i>a prop.</i>
admodum.....	adv. <i>quite.</i>
privignos.....	privignus, -i, m., <i>a stepson.</i>
integra.....	integer, -gra, -grum ( <i>intact</i> ); here, <i>not destitute of heirs.</i>

necdum .....	adv., <i>not yet</i> .
praetexta .....	praetexta, -ae, f. ( <i>Roman tunic</i> ), <i>garb.</i>
flagrantissime .....	adv. super. deg., <i>flagranter, eagerly</i> .
remeantem .....	remeo, -are, <i>to return</i> .
novercae .....	noverca, -ae, f., <i>a stepmother</i> .
pridem .....	adv., <i>long since</i> .
rudem .....	rudis, -e, <i>destitute (of)</i> .
sane .....	adv., <i>indeed</i> .
bonarum artium ...	bonae artes, phrase, <i>good qualities</i> .
at hercule .....	adv. phrase, <i>but, on the other hand</i> .
adsciri (per adoptionem) .....	adscio, -ire, <i>to adopt</i> .
munimentis .....	munimentum, -i, n., <i>a support</i> .
insisteret ...	insisto, -ĕre, -stiti, <i>to rest on</i> .
vocabula .....	vocabulum, -i, n., <i>a name</i> .
plerique.....	plerusque, -raque, -runque, ( <i>for</i> ) <i>the most part</i> .
quotus quisque .....	adj., <i>how few</i> .

## IV.

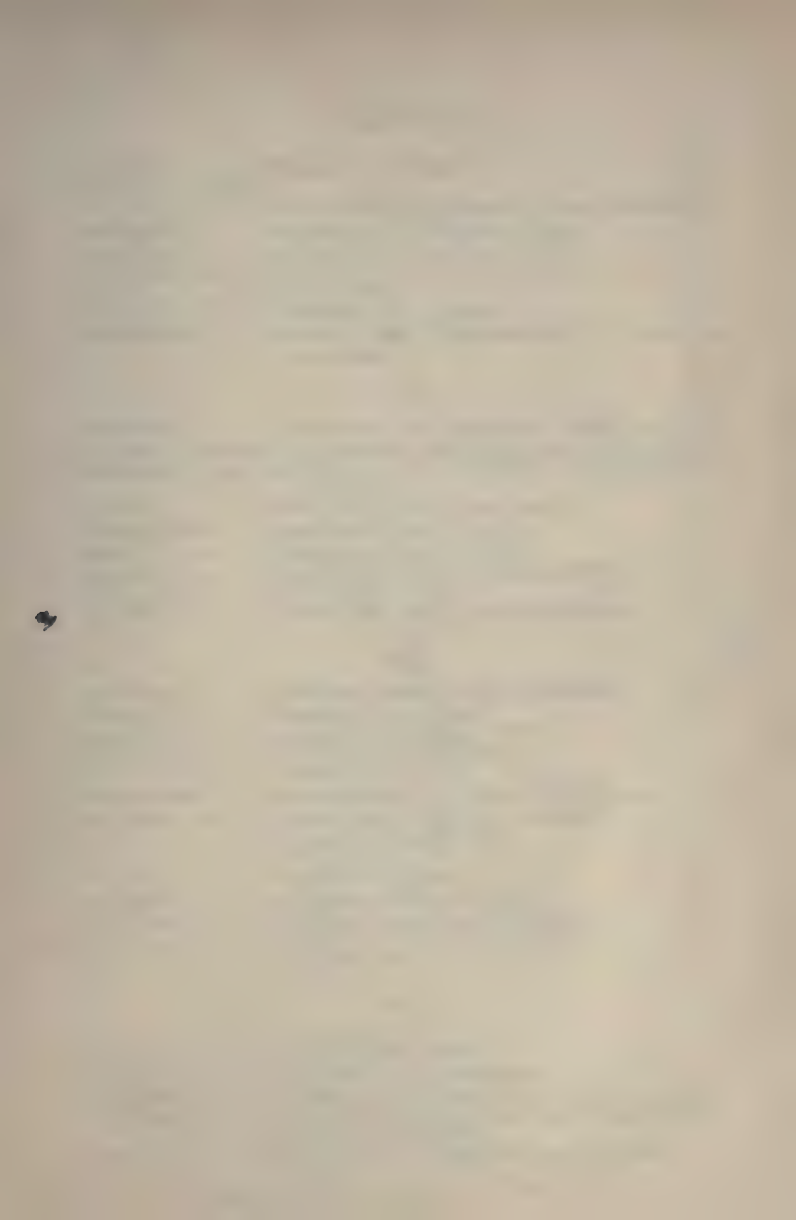
aspectare .....	aspecto, -are, <i>to look up to</i> .
in praesens .....	adv. phrase, <i>for the present</i> .
in cassum .....	adv. phrase, <i>in vain</i> .
trucem .....	trux, trucidis, <i>brutal</i> .
spectatum .....	spectatus, -a, -um, <i>tried</i> .
insita .....	insero, -ĕre, -sevi, -situm ( <i>to ingraft</i> ), here, <i>inbred</i> .
secessus .....	secessus, -us, m., <i>retirement</i> .
accedere.....	accedo, -ere, -cessi, -cessum ( <i>to be in addition</i> ), <i>to be there too</i> .
insuper .....	adv., <i>besides</i> .
quandoque.....	adv., <i>at some time or other</i> .

## V.

agitantibus .....	agito, -are, <i>to discuss</i> .
gravescere .....	gravesco, -ĕre, <i>to increase</i> .
consciis .....	consciis, -i, m., <i>a confidant</i> .
utcumque .....	adv., <i>however</i> .
vixdum .....	adv., <i>scarcely (yet)</i> .
adhuc.....	adv., <i>still</i> .
saepserat .....	saepio, -ire, -psi, -ptum, <i>to surround</i> .

## VI.

facinus .....	facinus, ōris, n., <i>a crime</i> .
aegre .....	adv., <i>with difficulty</i> .
disservit.....	dissero, -ĕre, -serui, -sertum, <i>to hold a discussion</i> .
questus .....	queror, -i, -questus sum, <i>to make complaints</i> .
senatus consulto ...	senatus consultum, phrase, <i>a decree of the senate</i> .
sanciretur .....	sancio, -irĕ, sanxi, sanctum, <i>to confirm</i> .





festinavisse .....	festino, -are, <i>to hasten.</i>
— rationem reddendam .....	rationem reddere, phrase, <i>to give an account.</i>
secretorum .....	secretum, -i, n. (secerno), <i>a secret.</i>
codicillos .....	codicilli, -orum, m. pl., <i>a missive.</i>
subderetur (reus)...	subdo, -ĕre, -didi, -ditum, <i>to accuse.</i>
iuxta .....	adv., <i>equally.</i>
arcana .....	arcanum, -i, n., <i>a secret.</i>
condicionem .....	condicio, -onis, f. ( <i>a condition</i> ), <i>an essential principle.</i>

## VII.

primordio .....	primordium, -ii, n. ( <i>beginning</i> ), <i>accession.</i>
— in verba ... juravere	in verba jurare, phrase, <i>to swear obedience (to).</i>
ambiguus .....	ambiguus, -a, -um ( <i>doubtful</i> ), <i>not having made up his mind.</i>
curiam .....	curia, -ae, f., <i>the (senate) house.</i>
praescriptione .....	praescriptio, -onis, f., <i>title.</i>
sensu .....	sensus, -us, m. ( <i>sense</i> ), <i>tone.</i>
excubiae .....	excubiae, -arum, f. ( <i>a watch</i> ), <i>sentries.</i>
aulae .....	aula, ae, f., <i>a court.</i>
procerum .....	procer, -eris, m., (in pl.) <i>the chief men.</i>

## VIII.

pronepotes .....	pronepos, -nepotis, <i>a great-grandson.</i>
legata .....	legatum, -i, n., <i>a legacy.</i>
nummum .....	nummus, -i, m. ( <i>coin</i> ), <i>sesterce.</i>
viritim .....	adv. ( <i>man by man</i> ), <i>apiece.</i>
tituli .....	titulus, -i, m., <i>a title.</i>
sacramentum .....	sacramentum, -i, n., <i>the oath of obedience.</i>
mandante .....	mando, -are ( <i>to charge</i> ), <i>to command.</i>
sponte .....	adv., <i>of his own free will.</i>
vel ... ..	conj., <i>even if.</i>
rogum .....	rogus, -i, m., <i>a pyre.</i>
adroganti .....	adrogans, -antis, <i>arrogant.</i>
moderatione .....	moderatio, -onis, f., <i>condescension.</i>
crudi .....	crudus, -a, -um ( <i>raw</i> ), <i>not matured.</i>
scilicet .....	adv., <i>forsooth.</i>

## IX.

hinc... ..	adv., <i>then.</i>
princeps .....	princeps, -cipis, <i>first.</i>
cubiculo .....	cubiculum, -i, n., <i>bedchamber.</i>
celebrabatur ... ..	celebro, -are, (in pass.) <i>to be talked of.</i>
continuata .....	continuo, -are, <i>to make continuous</i> ; here, <i>to hold without intermission.</i>
arguebatur .....	arguo, -ĕre, -ui, -utum ( <i>to accuse</i> ), <i>to attack.</i>



necessitudine .....	necessitudo, -dinis, f., <i>necessities</i> .
socordia.....	socordia, -ae, f., <i>sloth</i> .
peccatum datum .....	peccatum do, (in pass.) <i>to plunge into ruin</i> .

## X.

obtentui.....	obtentus, -us, m., <i>a mask</i> .
machinator .....	machinator, -oris, m., <i>one engaged in machinations</i> .
inlectum .....	inlucio, -ere, -lexi, -lectum, <i>to lure on</i> .
subdolae .....	subdolus, -a, -um, (somewhat) <i>treacherous</i> .
per ludibrium (consulere) .....	phrase, <i>to go through the farce of (consulting)</i> .
luxus .....	luxus, -us, m., <i>excess</i> .
numinum .....	numen, -inis, n., <i>a deity</i> .
coli .....	colo, -ere, colui, cultum (to cultivate), <i>to worship</i> .
adscitum .....	adscisco, -ere, -scivi, -scitum, <i>to adopt</i> .
honora .....	honorus, -a, -um, <i>complimentary</i> .
habitu .....	habitus, -us, m., <i>carriage</i> .
cultu .....	cultus, -us, -m., <i>dress</i> .
institutis .....	institutum, -i, n., <i>manners</i> .
exprobraret .....	exprobro, -are (to reproach), <i>to convey as a taunt</i> .
more .....	mos, moris, m., (here adverbial), <i>duly</i> .
decernuntur .....	decerno, -ere, -crevi, -cretum, <i>to decree</i> .

## XI.

molis .....	moles, -is, f. (a mass), <i>a burden</i> .
capacem .....	capax, -acis (able to hold), <i>large enough for</i> .
proinde .....	adv., <i>therefore</i> .
subnixa .....	subnixus, -a, -um, <i>supported</i> .
fidei .....	fides, -ei, f., <i>sincerity</i> .
occuleret .....	occulo, -ere, -cului, -cultum, <i>to conceal</i> .
suspensa .....	suspensus, -a, -um (suspendo), <i>hesitating</i> .
nitenti .....	nitor, -i, nisus, <i>to strive</i> .
penitus .....	adv., (deeply), <i>altogether</i> .
libellum .....	libellum, -i, n., <i>a document</i> .
tributa .....	tributum, -i, n. (direct) <i>taxes</i> .
vectigalia .....	vectigal, -alis, n. (indirect) <i>taxes</i> .
necessitates .....	necessitas, -tatis, f. (necessity), here, <i>a necessary disbursement</i> .
largitiones.....	largitio, -onis, f., <i>a largess</i> .
terminos .....	terminus, -i, m., <i>a bound</i> .
incertum . . . an...	adv. phrase, <i>perhaps . . . or</i> .

## XII.

ut . . . ita .....	conj. phrase, <i>though . . . yet</i> .
tutelam .....	tutela, -ae, f., <i>guardianship</i> .
paulum .....	adv., <i>for a brief space</i> .
in universum.. ..	adv. phrase, <i>entirely</i> .





nequirent .....	nequeo, -ire, -ivi, -itum, <i>to be unable.</i>
ideo .....	adv., ( <i>therefore</i> ), <i>for all that.</i>
plus quam civilia agitare .....	phrase, <i>was aiming to be something more than a citizen.</i>

## XIII.

perinde .....	adv., <i>in the same way.</i>
tractaret .....	tracto, -are, <i>to discuss.</i>
suffecturi .....	sufficio, -ère, -feci, -fectum, <i>to prove equal to.</i>
prioribus .....	adj. comp. deg., prior, oris ( <i>the former</i> ), <i>the first.</i>
perstrinxere .....	perstringo, -ère, -nxi, -ctum, <i>to ruffle.</i>
quo usque .....	adv. phrase, <i>how long?</i>
relationi .....	relatio, -onis, f., <i>a motion.</i>
intercessisset .....	intercedo, -ère, -cessi, -cessum, <i>to veto.</i>
invectus .....	inveho, -ère, -vexi, -vectum, (in pass.) <i>to break out into invective.</i>
tramisit .....	tramitto, -ère, -misi, -misum, <i>to pass over.</i>
paulatim .....	adv., <i>by degrees.</i>
advolveretur .....	advolvo, -ère, -volvi, -volutum, <i>to prostrate oneself.</i>
casu .....	casus, -us, m. (adv. here), <i>accidentally.</i>
curatissimis .....	adj. sup. deg. fr. curatus, -a, -um, <i>solicitous.</i>

## XIV.

censebant .....	censeo, -ère, -ui, censum, <i>to propose.</i>
ceterum .....	adv. ( <i>for the rest</i> ), <i>in reality.</i>
fastigium .....	fastigium, -ii, n., <i>elevation.</i>
deminutionem .....	deminutio, -onis, f., <i>a slight.</i>
iure iurando .....	ius iurandum, iuris iurandi, n., <i>an oath.</i>

## XV.

comitia .....	comitium, -ii, n., (in pl.) <i>the elections.</i>
potissima .....	adj. sup. deg. of potis, e, (in sup.) <i>most important.</i>
moderante .....	modero, -are, <i>to restrict oneself.</i>
sumptu .....	sumptus, -us, m., <i>expense.</i>
ederent .....	edo, -ère, -didi, -ditum, <i>to exhibit.</i>
fastis .....	fasti, -orum, m., <i>the calendar.</i>
aerario .....	aerarium, -ii, n., <i>the treasury.</i>

## XVI.

aestivis .....	aestivus, -a, -um, <i>summer.</i>
lascivire .....	lascivio, -ire, -ii, -itum, <i>to be demoralised.</i>
operarum .....	opera, -ae, f., (in pl.) <i>workmen, here, claqueurs.</i>
gregarius .....	gregarius, -a, -um, <i>common (soldier).</i>
procax .....	procax, -caxis, <i>unrestrained.</i>
coetus .....	coetus, -us, m., <i>an assembly.</i>
histrionali .....	histrionalis, e, <i>theatrical.</i>

ambigentes .....	ambigo, -ëre, <i>to be in doubt.</i>
flexo (in vesperam) .....	flecto, -ëre, flexi, flexum, <i>to verge (into evening).</i>

## XVII.

(velut) contionabundus .....	contionabundus, -a, -um, <i>in the tone of a demagogue.</i>
nutantem .....	nuto, -are (to nod), here, <i>not to be firmly seated.</i>
ignavia .....	ignavia, -ae, f., <i>cowardice.</i>
stipendia .....	stipendium, -ii, n., <i>service.</i>
truncato.....	trunco, -are, <i>to maim.</i>
vexillum .....	vexillum, -i, n., <i>a banner.</i>
uligines .....	uligo, -inis, f., <i>marshy quality.</i>
inculta .....	incultus, -a, -um, <i>waste.</i>
tentoria .....	tentorium, -ii, n., <i>a tent.</i>
verbera .....	verber, -eris, n., (in plur.) <i>a flogging.</i>
levamentum .....	levamentum, -i, n., <i>relief.</i>
mererent .....	mereo, -ëre, -ui, -itum, <i>to have as wages.</i>
obtrectari .....	obtrecto, -are, <i>to disparage.</i>
contuberniis .....	contubernium, -ii, n., <i>a tent.</i>

## XVIII.

canitiem .....	canities, -ei, f., <i>grey locks.</i>
detrita .....	detero, -ëre, -trivi, -tritum, (to wear away), here <i>threadbare.</i>
una.....	adv., <i>in one spot.</i>
caespites .....	caespes, -itis, m., <i>turf.</i>
desciscitis .....	descisco, -ëre, -scivi or -scii, -scitum, <i>to revolt.</i>

## XIX.

pervicacia .....	pervicacia, -ae, f., <i>obstinacy.</i>
omisere .....	omitto, -ëre, -misi, -misum, <i>to give up.</i>
desideria .....	desiderium, -ii, n., <i>a wish.</i>
parum .....	adv., <i>little.</i>
in tempore .....	phrase, <i>opportune.</i>
tenderent .....	tendo, -ëre, tetendi, tentum or tensum, <i>to endeavour.</i>
obsequii .....	obsequium, -ii, n., <i>obedience.</i>
fas .....	fas, n., indecl., (right), <i>sacred bond.</i>
missionem .....	missio, -onis, f., <i>discharge.</i>
provenissent .....	provenio, -ire, -veni, -ventum, <i>to succeed.</i>
superbire .....	superbio, -ire, <i>to be arrogant.</i>

## XX.

usus .....	usus, -us, m., <i>purpose.</i>
convellunt .....	convello, -ëre, -velli, -vulsum, <i>to tear up.</i>
vicis .....	vicus, -i, m., <i>a village.</i>
instar .....	instar, n., indecl., (image), <i>like.</i>
sarcinis .....	sarcina, -ae, f., <i>a knapsack.</i>
gravant .....	gravo, -are, <i>to load.</i>
dein .....	adv., <i>afterwards.</i>







## XXI.

redintegratur .....	redintegro, -are, <i>to renew</i> , here, (in pass.) <i>to break out afresh</i> .
vagi .....	vagus, -a, -um, <i>straggling</i> .
populabantur .....	populor, -ari, <i>to devastate</i> .
maxime .....	adv., sup. deg., <i>especially</i> .
onustos .....	onustus, -a, -um, <i>laden</i> .
carcere .....	carcer, -eris, n., <i>a prison</i> .
obniti .....	obnitor, -i, -nisus, <i>to struggle</i> .
prensare .....	prenso, -are, <i>to clasp</i> .
modo . . . modo ..	advs., <i>now . . . now</i> .
obtestantur .....	obtestor, -ari, <i>to appeal to</i> .
universis .....	universus, -a, -um, (in pl.) <i>everybody at once</i> .

## XXII.

allevatus .....	allevor, -are, <i>to raise on high</i> .
spiritum .....	spiritus, -us, m. ( <i>breath</i> ), <i>air</i> .
cadaver .....	cadaver, -veris, n., <i>a corpse</i> .
osculis .....	osculum, -i, n., <i>a kiss</i> .
trucidari .....	trucido, -are, <i>to butcher</i> .

## XXIII.

servitio .....	servitium, -ii, n., <i>the slaves</i> .
familiam .....	familia, ae, f., <i>a household</i> .
ni .....	conj., <i>if . . . not</i> .
cruciatu8 .....	cruciatu8, -u8, m., <i>a torture</i> .
pernotuisset .....	pernotesco, -ère, -notui, <i>to become known</i> .
facetiis .....	facetia, -ae, f., <i>wit</i> .
cèdo .....	old imperat., <i>bring me</i> .
vite .....	vitis, -is, f., <i>a vine-rod</i> .
latebrae .....	latebra, -ae, f., <i>concealment</i> .
idoneu8 .....	idoneu8, -a, -um, <i>fit</i> .
quin .....	conj., <i>nay</i> .
nonanu8 .....	nonanu8, -a, -um, <i>of the ninth (legion)</i> .

## XXIV.

ex re .....	phrase, <i>according to circumstances</i> .
rector .....	rector, -orìs, m., ( <i>one</i> ) <i>to direct</i> .
per officium .....	phrase, <i>as a matter of duty</i> .
inluyie .....	inluyies, -ei, f., <i>squalor</i> .
deformi .....	deformis, e, <i>unsightly</i> .

## XXV.

globos .....	globu8, -i, m. ( <i>a ball</i> ), <i>a body</i> .
truculentis .....	truculentu8, -a, -um, <i>fierce</i> .
expertem .....	expers, -pertis, <i>without a share in</i> .
par .....	par, paris ( <i>equal</i> ), <i>right</i> .
diurnum .....	diurnu8, -a, -um, <i>daily</i> .

## XXVI.

arbitrium .....	arbitrium, -ii, n., <i>a decision.</i>
licentia .....	licentia, -ae, f. ( <i>license</i> ), <i>power.</i>
necem.....	nex, necis, f. ( <i>death</i> ), here, <i>a putting to death.</i>
frustrari .....	frustror, -ari, <i>to baulk.</i>
supplicia .....	supplicium, -ii, n., <i>punishment.</i>
arbitro .....	arbiter, -tri, m., <i>an arbitrator.</i>

## XXVII.

infensi .....	infensus, -a, -um, <i>with . . . hostility.</i>
provisu .....	provisus, -us, m., <i>foresight.</i>
cruentus.....	cruentus, -a, -um, <i>covered with blood.</i>

## XXVIII.

languescere .....	languesco, -ëre, -gui, <i>to grow dim.</i>
pergerent .....	pergo, -ëre, perrexi, -rectum ( <i>to proceed</i> ), <i>to make efforts.</i>
aeris .....	aes, aeris, n., <i>a brazen instrument.</i>
concentu .....	concentus, -us, m., <i>blare.</i>
prout .....	adv., <i>according as.</i>
offecere .....	officio, -ëre, -feci, -fectum, <i>to obstruct.</i>
si alii .....	phrase, <i>all those who.</i>
vigiliis .....	vigilia, -ae, f., <i>a patrol.</i>
stationibus .....	statio, -onis, f., <i>a picket.</i>
intendunt .....	intendo, -ëre, -tendi, -tum and -sum, <i>to threaten.</i>
emeritis .....	emeritus, -a, -um ( <i>emereo</i> ), <i>discharged.</i>
capessent .....	capesso, -ëre, -ivi, -itum, <i>to control.</i>
novissimi .....	adj. sup. deg. of novus, -a, -um, ( <i>here</i> ) <i>the last.</i>
inter se .....	adv. phrase, <i>mutually.</i>
tironem .....	tiro, -onis, m., <i>a recruit.</i>

## XXIX.

permulcendum .....	permulceo, -ëre, -mulsi, -mulsum and -muletum, <i>to appease.</i>
modicum .....	modicus, -a, -um ( <i>moderate</i> ), <i>a mean.</i>
ostentui .....	ostentus, -us, m., <i>a public spectacle.</i>

## XXX.

(quisque)praecipuus .....	praecipuus, -a, -um, ( <i>all the</i> ) <i>chief.</i>
palantes .....	pālor, -ari, <i>to wander.</i>
turbine .....	turbo, -inis, m. ( <i>whirlwind</i> ), <i>wind.</i>
hebescere .....	hebesco, -ëre, <i>to grow dim.</i>
ruere .....	ruo, -ëre, rui, rutum ( <i>to rush</i> ), <i>to burst down.</i>
infausta .....	infaustus, -a, -um, <i>ill-omened.</i>
temerata .....	temero, -are, <i>to pollute.</i>
piaculo .....	piaculum, -i, n. ( <i>expiation</i> ), <i>guilt.</i>







## XXXI.

ferme .....	adv., <i>about</i> .
penes .....	prep., <i>in the hands of</i> .
speculabantur .....	speculor, -ari, <i>to watch</i> .
rabiem .....	rabies, -ei, f., <i>frenzy</i> .
per .....	prep., <i>here with</i> .
vernacula .....	vernaculus, -a, -um, <i>of slaves</i> .
respicientium .....	respicio, -ĕre, -spexi, -spectum, <i>to look to</i> .
ora .....	os, oris, n. ( <i>a face</i> ), <i>a look</i> .

## XXXII.

obviam ibat .....	obviam ire, phrase, <i>to check</i> .
vaecordia .....	vaecordia, -ae, f., <i>madness</i> .
lymphati .....	lymphatus, -a, -um ( <i>mad</i> ), <i>in a fit of frenzy</i> .
(verberibus) mul-	
cant .....	mulco, -are, <i>to beat</i> .
laniatos .....	lanio, -are, <i>to tear</i> .
patefecit .....	patefacio, -ĕre, -feci, -factum, <i>to open up</i> .
partiebantur .....	partior, -iri, -titus sum, <i>to share</i> .
sed .....	conj., <i>but</i> .

## XXXIII.

census.....	census, -us, m., <i>a schedule of property</i> .
neptem .....	neptis, -is, f., <i>grand-daughter</i> .
rerum .....	res, rei, f., <i>here, power</i> .

## XXXIV.

impensius .....	adv. comp. deg. of impense, <i>zealously</i> .
in verba ...adigit...	in verba adigere, phrase, <i>to cause to swear allegiance to</i> .
raptim .....	adv., <i>hastily</i> .
exosculandi .....	exosculor, -ari, <i>to kiss</i> .
senio .....	senium, -ii, n., <i>age</i> .
saltem .....	adv., <i>at least</i> .
fidem .....	fides, -ei, f., <i>loyalty</i> .

## XXXV.

cicatrices .....	cicatrix, -trici, f., <i>a scar</i> .
notas .....	nota, -ae, f., <i>a weal</i> .
indiscretis .....	indiscretus, -a, -um, <i>confused</i> .
angustias .....	angustiae, -arum, f. pl., <i>scantiness</i> .
adgestus .....	adgestus, -us, m., <i>collection</i> .
mederetur .....	medeor, -eri, <i>to counteract</i> .
praeceps .....	praeceps, -cipitis, <i>headlong</i> .
desiluit .....	desilio, -ire, -silui, -sultum, <i>to leap down</i> .
latere .....	latus, -eris, n., <i>side</i> .

## XXXVI.

gnarus .....	gnarus, -a, -um, <i>aware of</i> .
ancipiti .....	anceps, -cipitis, n., <i>peril</i> .
exauctorari .....	exauctoro, -are, <i>to release from the military oath</i> .
immunes .....	immunis, -e, <i>released from duties</i> .

## XXXVII.

conficta .....	confinco, -ere, -finxi, -fictum, <i>to invent</i> .
hiberna .....	hiberna, -orum, n. pl., <i>winter quarters</i> .
aestivis .....	aestiva, -orum, n. pl., <i>summer quarters</i> .
viatico .....	viaticum, -i, n. ( <i>journey-money</i> ), <i>private resources</i> .
fisci .....	fiscus, -i, m., <i>a money-bag</i> .
superiorem .....	adj. comp. deg. superior, -oris, <i>upper</i> .
sacramento adigit	sacramento adigere, phrase, <i>to compel to take the oath</i> .

## XXXVIII.

praesenti .....	praesens, -entis, <i>instant</i> .
intumescere .....	intumesco, -ere, -mui ( <i>to swell</i> ), <i>to increase</i> .
mutuatur .....	mutuo, -ari, <i>to borrow</i> .
violari .....	violare, -are, <i>to outrage</i> .

## XXXIX.

conscientia .....	conscientia, -ae, f., <i>consciousness</i> .
inrita .....	inritus, -a, -um, <i>void</i> .
nocte concubia.....	nox concubia, phrase, <i>the time of the first sleep</i> .
ianuam .....	ianua, -ae, f., <i>the entrance</i> .
moliuntur .....	molior, -iri, -itus ( <i>to move</i> ), <i>to burst open</i> .
religione .....	religio, -onis, f., <i>sanctity</i> .
commaculavisset ...	commaculo, -are, <i>to stain</i> .
demum .....	adv., <i>here at last</i> .
facunde .....	adv., <i>in eloquent terms</i> .
praesidio .....	praesidium, -ii, n., <i>protection</i> .

## XL.

consultis .....	consultum, -i, n., <i>a measure</i> .
gravidam .....	gravidus, -a, -um, <i>pregnant</i> .
degenerem.....	degener, -eris, <i>craven</i> .
fletu .....	fletus, -us, m., <i>tears</i> .

## XLI.

planctus.....	planctus, -us, m., <i>wailing</i> .
socer .....	socer, -i, m., <i>father-in-law</i> .
insigni .....	insignis, -e, <i>renowned</i> .
tegmine.....	tegmen, -inis, n., <i>covering</i> .
occursantes .....	occurso, -ae, <i>to run to meet</i> .







## XLII.

majestas.....	majestas, -tatis, f., <i>majesty</i> .
nurus.....	nurus, -us, f., <i>a daughter-in-law</i> .
fas gentium .....	phrase, <i>the law of nations</i> .
compescuit .....	compesco, -ĕre, -cui, <i>to crush</i> .
detrectabant.....	detrecto, -are, <i>to refuse to obey</i> .
ut . . . ita.....	conj. phrase, <i>though . . . yet</i> .
tantum .....	adv., <i>alone</i> .
precariam .....	precarius, -a, -um, <i>as a favour</i> .

## XLIII.

improvidi .....	improvidus, -a, -um, <i>blind</i> .
eluant .....	eluo, -ĕre, -lui, -lutum, <i>to wash out</i> .

## XLIV.

lapis .....	labor, -i, lapsus sum, <i>to go astray</i> .
alumnus.....	alumnus, -i, m., <i>nursling</i> .
obses .....	obses, -sidis, m., <i>a hostage</i> .
suggestu .....	suggestus, -us, m., <i>a platform</i> .
strenue .....	adv., <i>bravely</i> .
objectavissent .....	objecto, -are, <i>to charge</i> .

## XLV.

lapidem .....	lapis, -idis, m., <i>a milestone</i> .
patratum .....	patro, -are, <i>to perpetrate</i> .

## XLVI.

queat .....	queo, -ire, quivi and quii, quitum, <i>to be able</i> .
vigentem .....	vigeo, -ĕre, -ui ( <i>to thrive</i> ), <i>to be in one's prime</i> .
cavillantem .....	cavillo, -are, <i>to carp</i> .
fomenta.....	fomentum, -i, n., <i>a remedy</i> .

## XLVII.

caput rerum .....	phrase, <i>the capital of the empire</i> .
angebant .....	ango, -ĕre, anxi, anctum, <i>to make anxious</i> .
subnixus .....	subnitor, -i, -nixus, <i>to rely on</i> .
salva .....	salvus, -a, -um, <i>unimpaired</i> .
infringi .....	infringo, -ĕre, -fregi, -fractum, <i>to crush</i> .
subsidium .....	subsidium, -ii, n., <i>resource</i> .
sprevissem .....	sperno, -ĕre, sprevi, spretum, <i>to despise</i> .
iam iamque iturus...	phrase, <i>on the point of departure</i> .
impedimenta.....	impedimentum, -i, n., <i>baggage</i> .
causatus.....	causor, -ari, <i>to cheat</i> . - <i>causator</i> .

## XLVIII.

defectores .....	defector, -oris, m., <i>a mutineer.</i>
praesumant .....	praesumo, -ēre, -sumpsi, -sumptum, <i>to anticipate (by taking).</i>
ignaros .....	ignarus, -a, -um, <i>unawares.</i>

## XLIX.

discedunt in partes	phrase, <i>separate into parties.</i>
placari .....	placo, -are, <i>to appease.</i>
alas.....	ala, -ae, f., <i>a squadron.</i>

## L.

iustitio .....	iustitium, ii, n., <i>a public mourning.</i>
attinemur .....	attineo, -ēre, -tinui, -tentum, <i>to detain.</i>
propereo .....	properus, -a, -um ( <i>hasty</i> ), <i>forced.</i>
limitem .....	limes, -itis, m., <i>a barrier.</i>
concaedibus .....	concaedes, -ium, f. pl., <i>a barricade of felled trees.</i>
saltus .....	saltus, -us, m. ( <i>glade</i> ), <i>wooded country.</i>
exploratores .....	explorator, -oris, m., <i>a scout.</i>
epulis.....	epulae, -arum, f. pl., <i>a banquet.</i>
ludicram .....	ludicrus, -a, -um, <i>kept as a holiday.</i>
amoliri .....	amolior, -iri, -itus sum, <i>to clear away.</i>
incuria .....	incuria, -ae, f., <i>neglect.</i>
temulentos .....	temulentus, -a, -um, <i>drunken.</i>

## LI.

cuneos .....	cuneus, -i, m. ( <i>wedge</i> ), <i>column.</i>
dispertit.....	dispertio, -ire, -ivi or -ii, -itum, <i>to divide.</i>
insedere .....	insideo, -ēre, -sedi, -sessum, <i>to occupy.</i>
terga .....	tergum, -i, n., <i>the rear.</i>
porrigeretur .....	porrigo, -ēre, -rexi, -rectum, <i>to stretch out (in pass.), to defile.</i>
adsultantes .....	adulto, -are, <i>to attack.</i>
modice .....	adv., <i>without much vigour.</i>
novissimos.....	adj. sup. deg. of novus, <i>here the rear guard.</i>
catervis .....	caterva, ae, f., <i>troop, band.</i>

## LII.

rettulit .....	refero, -ferre, rettuli, relatum, <i>to bring under the notice of.</i>
intentior .....	intentus, -a, -um, <i>with warmth.</i>
fida.....	fidus, -a, -um ( <i>faithful</i> ), <i>hearty.</i>

## LIII.

intima .....	adj. sup. deg. of interior, <i>here powerful.</i>
extorre <sup>m</sup> .....	extorris, e, <i>in exile.</i>
egenam .....	egenus, -a, -um, <i>deprived.</i>





tabe .....	tabes, -is, f., <i>disease.</i>
✓ sollers.....	sollers, -ertis, <i>clever.</i>
✓ pervicax.....	pervicax, -cacis, <i>importunate.</i>
✓ insectatione .....	insectatio, -onis, f., <i>an attack.</i>
cervicem .....	cervix, -icis, f., <i>throat.</i>
✓ percussoribus.....	percussor, -oris, m., <i>an assassin.</i>

## LIV.

sodalium .....	sodalis, -is, m. ( <i>companion</i> ), <i>brother.</i>
sorte .....	sors, sortis, f., <i>a lot.</i>
abhorrebat.....	abhorreo, -ēre, -horruī, <i>to be averse.</i>
✓ civile .....	civilis, -e ( <i>affable</i> ), here <i>a mark of affability.</i>

## LV.

manente.....	maneo, -ēre, mansi, mansum, <i>to continue.</i>
✓ excursu .....	excursus, -us, m., <i>an inroad.</i>
alias .....	adv., <i>at other times.</i>
pactam .....	pacisco, -ēre, <i>to betroth.</i>
invisus .....	invisus, -a, -um, <i>hated.</i>

## LVI.

✓ tumultuarias.....	tumultuarius, -a, -um, <i>hastily raised.</i>
castello .....	castellum, -i, n., <i>a fort.</i>
✓ imbecillum .....	imbecillus, -a, -um, <i>helpless.</i>
pagis .....	pagus, -i, m., <i>a canton.</i>
✓ astu.....	astus, -us, m., <i>a ruse.</i>

## LVII.

popularium .....	popularis, -is, adj. as substantive, c., <i>a (fellow) countryman.</i>
evicta (in).....	evinco, -ēre, -vici, -victum, <i>to move (to).</i>

## LVIII.

civitate .....	civitas, -tatis, f., <i>citizenship.</i>
ex .....	prep., <i>in accordance with.</i>
utinam .....	adv., <i>would (that).</i>
copia .....	copia, -ae, f. ( <i>supply</i> ), <i>opportunity of making overtures.</i>
veniam .....	venia, -ae, f., <i>pardon.</i>

## LIX.

ut .....	adv., <i>according as.</i>
lucis .....	lucus, -i, m., <i>a grove.</i>
virgas.....	virga, -ae, f., <i>a rod.</i>
securus .....	securis, -is, f., <i>an axe.</i>
✓ internumina dicatus	phrase, here <i>in spite of his apotheosis.</i>



## LX.

patruus ..... patruus, -i, m., *an uncle.*

## LXI.

- scrutaretur ..... scrutor, -ari, *to examine.*  
 ambitu ..... ambitus, -us, m., *circuit.*  
 - semiruto ..... semirutus, -a, -um, *crumbling.*  
 humili ..... humilis, -is, *shallow.*  
 accisae ..... accido, -ĕre, -cidi, -cisum, *to diminish.*  
 ora ..... os, oris, n., *a skull.*  
 - superstites ..... superstes, -stis, *a survivor.*  
 - patibula ..... patibulum, -i, n., *a gibbet.*  
 - scrobes ..... scrobis, -is, f., *a pit.*

## LXII.

- in deterius ..... adv. phrase, *unfavourably.*  
 praeditum ..... praeditus, -a, -um, *invested.*  
 - feralia ..... feralis, -e, (in neut. pl.) *funeral ceremonies.*

## LXIII.

- avia ..... avius, -a, -um, (in neut. pl.) *wild country.*  
 copia ..... copia, -ae, f. (*supply*), *opportunity.*  
 subsidiariae ..... subsidiarius, -a, -um, *of the reserve.*  
 fiducia ..... fiducia, -ae, f., *confidence.*  
 - trames ..... trames, -itis, m., *causeway.*  
 - limosa ..... limosus, -a, -um, *marshy.*  
 - caeno ..... caenum, -i, n., *clay.*  
 adclives ..... adclivis, -is, *sloping.*  
 - metari ..... metor, -ari, *to mark out.*

## LXIV.

lubricus ..... lubricus, -a, -um, *slippery.*  
 loricis ..... lorica, -ae, f., *a coat of mail.*  
 - librare ..... libro, -are, *to aim.*  
 pila ..... pilum, -i, n., *a weapon.*  
 saucii ..... saucius, -a, -um, *wounded.*  
 - planities ..... planities, -ei, f., *a plain.*

## LXV.

- inquires ..... inquires, -etis, *unquiet.*  
 passim ..... adv., *scattered.*  
 - proterere ..... protero, -ĕre, -trivi, -tritum, *to trample on.*  
 - suffosso ..... suffodio, -ĕre, -fodi, -fossum, *to pierce underneath.*  
 - sectantium ..... sector, -ari, *to make for.*  
 vesperascente ..... vesperasco, -ere, -peravi, *to close (of the day).*  
 cibos ..... cibus, -i, m., *food.*  
 - funestas ..... funestus, -a, -um, *here ominous of their doom.*





## LXVII.

reticuit (de) .....	reticeo, -ēre, -cui, <i>to make no mention (of).</i>
dehinc .....	adv., <i>next.</i>

## LXVIII.

- crates .....	cratis, -is, f., <i>a hurdle.</i>
cornua .....	cornu, -us, n., <i>a horn.</i>
tubae .....	tuba, -ae, f., <i>a trumpet.</i>
concinuere.....	concinno, -ēre, -cinui, <i>to sound (together).</i>
exin .....	adv., <i>then.</i>
inopina .....	inopinus, -a, -um, <i>unexpected.</i>
sanitatem .....	sanitas, -tatis, f., <i>health.</i>

## LXIX.

infesto .....	infestus, -a, -um, <i>exasperated.</i>
solvi .....	solvo, -ēre, solvi, solutum <i>(to loosen), to break down.</i>
flagitium .....	flagitium, -ii, n., <i>enormity.</i>
- grates.....	grates, f. pl., <i>thanks.</i>
intervisat .....	interviso, -ēre, -visi, -visum, <i>to visit (among).</i>
peritia .....	peritia, -ae, f., <i>knowledge.</i>
reconderet.....	recondo, -ēre, -didi, -ditum, <i>to bury.</i>

## LXX.

vadoso .....	vadosus, -a, -um, <i>shallow.</i>
- reciproco (mari) ...	reciprocus, -a, -um, <i>the ebb (tide).</i>
aquilonis .....	aquilo, -onis, m., <i>north wind.</i>
opplebantur .....	oppleo, -ēre, -plevi, -pletum, <i>to flood.</i>
freto .....	fretum, -i, n., <i>sea.</i>
- brevia.....	brevis, e, (in n. pl.) <i>shoals.</i>
- hauriuntur .....	haurio, -ire, hausi, haustum, <i>to suck up.</i>
iumenta .....	iumentum, -i, n., <i>here mules.</i>
tenus .....	prep., <i>as far as.</i>
editiora .....	adj. comp. deg. fr. editus, -a, -um, <i>here (in n. pl.) higher ground.</i>
pernoctavere.....	pernocto, -are, <i>to pass the night.</i>
vagante .....	vagor, -ari, <i>to spread far and wide.</i>
reducem.....	redux, -ducis, <i>returned.</i>

## LXXI.

circumire .....	circumeo, -ire, -ivi or -ii, -itum, <i>to go round, to visit.</i>
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## LXXII.

- malegesta republica	phrase, <i>by any malicious public act.</i>
- famosus libellis .....	famosus libellus, <i>a lampoon.</i>
- iudicia majestatis...	phrase, <i>the treason courts.</i>
- incertis auctoribus	phrase, <i>anonymously.</i>

## LXXIII.

corripuerit .....	corripio, -ĕre, -ripui, -reptum, <i>to seize on.</i>
mimum .....	mimus, -i, m., <i>a buffoon.</i>
mancipasset .....	mancipo, -are, <i>to put up to sale.</i>
ideo . . . ut .....	adv. phrase, <i>in order that.</i>
perinde . . . quam si	adv. phrase, <i>just as if.</i>

## LXXIV.

egens .....	egeo, -ĕre, -ui, <i>to be needy.</i>
rupta .....	rumpo, -ĕre, rupi, ruptum, <i>to break.</i>
efferverat .....	effervesco, -ĕre, -ferbui or -fervi ( <i>to boil</i> ), <i>to explode in anger.</i>
de pecuniis re- tundis.....	phrase, ( <i>about</i> ) <i>the charge of extortion.</i>
itum est .....	impers. pass. of eo, <i>here reference was made.</i>

## LXXV.

cornu .....	cornu, -us, n. ( <i>a horn</i> ), <i>a corner.</i>
erogandae .....	erogo, -are, <i>to spend.</i>

## LXXVI.

strages .....	strages, -is, f., <i>destruction.</i>
renuit.....	renuo, -ĕre, -ui, <i>to refuse one's consent.</i>

## LXXVII.

actum (de) .....	impers. pass. of ago, ( <i>it</i> ) <i>was brought up.</i>
lucaris .....	lucar, -is, n., <i>pay.</i>
fautorum .....	fautor, -oris, m., <i>a partisan.</i>

## LXXVIII.

centesimam .....	centesima, -ae, f., <i>a one per cent. tax (per month).</i>
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## LXXIX.

an .....	interrog. part., <i>as to whether.</i>
alveo .....	alveus, -i, m., <i>the bed (of a river).</i>
prorsus .....	adv., <i>forward.</i>
accolis .....	accolus, -a, -um, <i>here tributary.</i>

## LXXXI.

deinceps.....	adv., <i>subsequently.</i>
ausim .....	audeo, -ĕre, ausus sum, <i>to venture.</i>
re .....	res, rei, f., <i>here meaning.</i>







# TACITUS, ANNALS I.

## A' TRANSLATION.

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1. IN the earliest times Rome was governed by kings; Lucius Brutus established liberty, and founded the consulate. Dictatorships were held to meet the exigencies of the time; the decemviral power lasted no longer than two years; the consular rights of the military tribunes were of brief duration; the despotism of Cinna and of Sulla was short-lived; the power of Pompey and Crassus soon yielded to Caesar; while the arms of Lepidus and Antonius quickly passed over into the hands of Augustus, who took the whole state, wearied with civil strife, under military power with the designation of Prince. But the successes or reverses of the Roman nation of old have been narrated by illustrious historians; and brilliant intellects, till they were deterred by the growth of flattery, have not been wanting to describe the reign of Augustus. The history of Tiberius and Gaius, of Claudius and Nero, was falsified during their lifetime under the influence of fear; after their death it was written while hatred still rankled. Hence, my plan is to give a brief account of the last years of Augustus, and then to describe the principate of Tiberius and the subsequent reigns, without bitterness or party spirit, for which I am far from having any cause.

2. When after the death of Brutus and Cassius there was no state army, and when, now that Pompeius was crushed in Sicily, and Lepidus stript of his power, and Antonius slain, there was no leader save Caesar left for the Julian party, then, laying aside the name of Triumvir, he posed as consul; and stating that he was content with the tribunician

power for the protection of the people, he won over the soldiery by largesses, the populace by donations of corn, and all by the sweetness of peace. Step by step he rose in power, appropriating to himself, without opposition, the functions of the senate, the magistrates, and the laws; since the boldest spirits had fallen either on the battle-field or by proscription, and the rest of the nobility were enriched and honoured in proportion to their readiness for servitude, and now grown influential through revolution, preferred the safety of the present government to the dangers of the old régime. Nor were the provinces dissatisfied with that condition of affairs; for they viewed with suspicion the rule of the senate and the people, since the help given by the laws, which were overthrown by violence, by intrigue, and lastly by bribery, was but ineffectual.

3. However, Augustus raised up, as props of his despotism, his sister's son Claudius Marcellus, who was but a youth, by conferring on him the pontificate and curule aedileship, and Marcus Agrippa, a man of low station, but skilled in war, and the associate of his victory, by the bestowal of two consecutive consulships. Shortly afterwards, on the death of Marcellus, he made Agrippa his son-in-law; he conferred the title of Imperator on his stepsons Tiberius Nero and Claudius Drusus, although at that time his house was not destitute of heirs. For he had adopted Gaius and Lucius, the sons of Agrippa, into the family of the Cæsars; and before they had laid aside the garb of childhood, he had eagerly wished, though he pretended to decline the proposal, that they should be called princes of the youth, and be elected consuls. When Agrippa died, Lucius Caesar on his way to the Spanish armies, and Gaius while returning from Armenia, and weakened by a wound, were carried off either by a speedy and natural death, or by the machinations of their stepmother Livia. Nero was now the only one of the stepsons who survived—for Drusus had long since been dead—and in him all influence centred. He is adopted as a son, as a colleague in the imperial sway, as consort in the tribunician power, and is displayed before all the armies, not, as previously, by the concealed arts of his mother, but at her open suggestion. For Livia had so won the affections of the

aged Augustus that he banished to the Island of Planasia his only surviving grandson, Agrippa Postumus, who was indeed destitute of good qualities and stolidly brutal in his physical strength, but yet had been convicted of no crime. But, on the other hand, Augustus gave to Germanicus, the son of Drusus, the command of eight legions on the Rhine, and ordered his adoption by Tiberius, although there was a youthful son of Tiberius in the palace. But this was done that the emperor might rest on more supports. There was at this time no war left, except that against the Germans, which was carried on rather to blot out the disgrace suffered through the loss of the army with Quintilius Varus than through any desire to extend the empire, or for any fitting recompense. At home affairs were tranquil; the names of the magistracies were unchanged; the younger men had been born after the battle of Actium, even the elder citizens had, for the most part, sprung up amid the civil wars; now few were left who had seen the republic.

4. And so with the change of government nothing of the old and blameless morality remained anywhere; casting off equality, all looked up to the commands of the emperor with no fears for the present as long as Augustus, in the vigour of his age, sustained himself and his family, and preserved peace. When in his old age he was being worn out by a sickly body, and the end and new hopes were at hand, a few idly discussed the blessings of liberty; most men dreaded war, some desired it. By far the largest number defamed the characters of their future masters in various rumours. "Agrippa," they said, "was brutal and exasperated by disgrace, and unequal to such a burden both by reason of his youth and his want of worldly experience. Tiberius Nero was mature in years, a tried warrior; but characterised by the old and inbred haughtiness of the Claudian family, and many indications of his cruelty broke out from time to time, though they were repressed. He had been brought up from childhood, they said, in the reigning house; consulships and triumphs had been heaped on him in his youth; even during those years which he had spent in exile at Rhodes, under the pretence of retirement, his thoughts ran on nothing save anger, dissimulation, and secret lusts. The mother too was



there with a woman's lack of self-control ; we must be the slaves of a woman and of two youths besides, who would for a while encumber the state, and at some time or other distract it."

5. While men were discussing these and similar topics, the feebleness of Augustus increased, and some suspected crime on the part of his wife. For, in fact, a rumour had gone abroad that Augustus a few months before, after choosing confidants and one companion, Fabius Maximus, had sailed to Planasia to visit Agrippa ; many tears were shed there on both sides, signs of affection were shown, and there was consequently a hope that the youth would be restored to his grandfather's house. Maximus disclosed this to his wife Marcia, and the latter informed Livia. This circumstance came to the ears of Caesar. Maximus died shortly afterwards—whether by a self-inflicted death or not is doubtful—and at his funeral the groans of Marcia were heard accusing herself of being the cause of her husband's destruction. Whatever the real facts of the case are, Tiberius had scarcely entered Illyricum when he was summoned by an urgent despatch from his mother ; it has not been exactly ascertained whether he found Augustus, at the city of Nola, still breathing or lifeless. For Livia had surrounded the house and paths by vigilant guards, and favourable bulletins were issued for some time until, when the requirements of the occasion had been provided for, the same report told of the death of Augustus and the accession of Tiberius.

6. The first crime of the new principate was the murder of Postumus Agrippa. Though he was off his guard and unarmed, a centurion of resolute character despatched him with difficulty. Tiberius held no discussion in the senate on this matter ; he alleged the orders of his father, by which, he said, Augustus had enjoined the tribune, who was placed over Agrippa as a guard, to make no delay in putting him to death, as soon as he himself had brought his days to a close. Augustus, without doubt, had made many and bitter complaints about the habits of the young man, and had succeeded in having his exile confirmed by a decree of the senate ; however he had never steeled himself to the murder

of any of his relations, nor was it credible that his grandson had been put to death to secure the safety of his stepson. It is nearer the truth to say that Tiberius and Livia, the one through fear, the other with a stepmother's hatred, had hastened the murder of a youth who was regarded with suspicion and hatred. When the centurion announced, according to military custom, that his commands had been executed, Tiberius declared that he had given no such orders, and that an account must be given to the senate. Hearing this, Sallustius Crispus, the sharer in their secrets, who had sent the missive to the tribune, fearing lest he should be accused, and as it was equally perilous whether the disclosure he made were false or true, advised Livia not to allow the secrets of the palace, the plans of her friends, and the services of the soldiers to be bruited abroad, nor to let Tiberius break the strength of the principate by referring every matter to the senate; "the essential principle of government," he concluded, "is that accounts will not balance unless audited by one person only."

7. At Rome the consuls, senators, and knights rushed into servitude; the more illustrious a man was, the more hypocritical and eager for slavery he became; carefully composing their countenance that they might not express exultation at the death of one emperor, or gloom at the accession of the other, they mingled tears and joy, laments and adulation. The consuls Sextus Pompeius and Sextus Appuleius were the first who swore obedience to Tiberius — Caesar; next in their presence Seius Strabo and Gaius Turranius, the former prefect of the praetorian cohorts, the latter corn commissioner; the senate, the soldiers, and the people followed their example. For Tiberius began every act by means of the consuls, as if the old republic were still in existence and he had not made up his mind to rule. Even the edict by which he summoned the senators — into the house was only issued by him under the title of the tribunician prerogative which he had received under Augustus. The words of the proclamation were few and — unassuming in tone; he would consult about the honours to be paid to his parent, and would not leave the body; this was the only one of his public functions which he would

avail himself of. But on the death of Augustus he had given, as general, the standard to the praetorian cohorts; there were sentries, an armed force, and the other tokens of a court; soldiers accompanied him to the forum and to the senate house. He despatched a letter to the armies as if he had obtained imperial sway, and, save when he spoke in the senate, acted nowhere with hesitation. His principal motive arose from the fear that Germanicus, who had at his disposal so many legions and the vast auxiliary forces of the allies, and whose popularity with the people was great, would prefer to hold empire to waiting for it. He paid regard to popular opinion, wishing to present the appearance of one who was called and chosen by the state, rather than of one who had crept into power by a woman's intrigue and the adoption of a dotard. Afterwards it was recognised that his hesitation had been assumed to test the wishes of the chief men; for he was wont to store words and looks in his memory, and turn them into a foundation for a charge.

8. On the first day on which the senate met, Tiberius allowed no business to be transacted save about the obsequies of Augustus. His will, which was brought in by the Vestal Virgins, named Tiberius and Livia as heirs. Livia was adopted in the Julian family, and received the name of Augusta. Augustus had named his grandsons and great grandsons heirs in default; in the third place, the leading men in the State, who were for the most part personal enemies; but this was done with a view to display and glory in the eyes of posterity. The legacies did not exceed the limits of a citizen, save that he gave forty-three million five hundred thousand sesterces to the people and the populace, one thousand to each of the soldiers of the praetorian cohorts, [five hundred to each of the city soldiers,] and three hundred a-piece to the legionaries and to the cohorts composed of Roman citizens. Then the question of honours was discussed: Gallus Asinius and Lucius Arruntius voted what were thought the most distinguished; the former that the funeral should pass by the triumphal gate, the latter that the titles of the laws that had been passed and the names of the nations conquered by

Augustus should be carried in front of the body. Messala Valerius further proposed that the oath of obedience to Tiberius should be renewed yearly, and when asked by Tiberius whether he had brought forward the motion at his command, answered that he had done so of his own free will, and that in matters which affected the state he would avail himself of no one's advice but his own, even if this course incurred the danger of offence; this was the only form of adulation which remained. The members cried out that the body should be borne to the pyre on the shoulders of the senators. Caesar left the matter in their hands with arrogant condescension, and commanded the people by an edict to check any inclination to burn Augustus in the forum rather than in the Campus Martius, his destined resting-place, since they had formerly disturbed the obsequies of the divine Julius by their excessive enthusiasm. Soldiers were stationed on the day of the funeral as if to form a guard amid much mockery from men who had seen with their own eyes, or had heard from their parents, of that day when servitude was not yet matured and liberty was unsuccessfully re-sought; when the murder of the dictator Caesar seemed to some an atrocious deed and to others an act of surpassing fairness; "while now," they thought, "the aged emperor, though he had held power for long, and provision had been made for his heirs to use against the state, had to be protected forsooth by a military force, in order that his interment might pass off without disturbance."

9. Then there was much talk of Augustus himself, while many foolishly wondered that the same day was the first of his acceptance of the empire and the last of his life, and that he had ended his existence in the same house and bed-chamber at Nola in which his father Octavius had passed away. Men talked too of the number of his consulships, in which he had equalled Valerius Corvus and Gaius Marius together; of the tribunician power that was held without intermission for seven and thirty years; of the name of Imperator, won twenty-one times, and of other honours that had been gained over and over again, or obtained for the first time. Among the wise his life was variously



extolled or attacked. Some maintained that he had been driven to civil war—which could neither be waged nor continued by honourable methods—by his affection for his parent and the necessities of the state, in which there was then no place for laws. He had, they said, made many concessions to Antonius and Lepidus, in order that he might take vengeance on his father's murderers. When Lepidus had grown old amid sloth, and Antonius had plunged into ruin by his lust, there was no other remedy for his harassed country than the rule of an absolute monarch. "Yet," they continued, "the state was not established by means of a kingdom or by a dictatorship, but in the name of the prince; the empire was bounded by the waters of the ocean or by distant rivers; the legions, the provinces, and the fleets were all bound together; law reigned among the citizens; the allies were treated with moderation; the city itself was in a state of magnificent beauty; a very few measures had been carried out by violence in order that everything else might remain in peace."

10. It was said, on the other hand, "that affection for his father and the emergencies of the state were assumed as a mask; it was really through lust for rule that, when a young man in a private station, he had excited the veterans by bribes, raised an army, tampered with the consul's legions, and feigned friendship for the party of Pompey. Afterwards, when by a decree of the senate he had usurped the emblems and authority of praetor, when Hirtius and Pansa were slain,—whether they were cut off by the enemy, or Pansa by poison infused into a wound and Hirtius by his own soldiers and Caesar's treacherous machinations,—he took possession of both their forces, wrested the consulate from an unwilling senate, and turned against the state the arms which he had received to war upon Antony; citizens were proscribed, lands divided,—actions unapproved even by those who executed them. Granted that the deaths of Cassius and the Bruti were sacrificed to hereditary enmity (although it is a duty to waive personal feuds for the public interest), still he had cheated Pompey by the phantom of peace, and Lepidus by the appearance of friendship; afterwards he had lured on Antony by the



treaties of Tarentum and Brundisium, and by marriage with his sister, only in the end to pay by his death the penalty of a treacherous alliance. No doubt after this there was peace, but it was peace stained with blood. Abroad Lollius and Varus had met with disaster. Rome had seen the murders of men like Varro, Egnatius, and Iulus." Nor was his private life spared. "He had taken Nero's wife from him, and had gone through the farce of consulting the pontiffs as to whether with a child conceived and not yet brought to birth, she could properly marry; then there were the excesses of Q. Pedius and Vedius Pollio; and finally there was Livia, as a mother oppressive to the state, as a stepmother oppressive to the home of the Caesars. Nothing was left for the honours of the gods, for Augustus claimed that he himself should be worshipped with temples and the statues of deities by means of flamens and priests. Nor was even the adoption of Tiberius as his successor due to affection or anxiety for the state; but he had looked into his arrogance and cruelty, and had sought glory for himself by a comparison with the worst successor he could find." For indeed Augustus a few years before, when he was a second time demanding for Tiberius the tribunician power, was, it is true, complimentary in language, yet had dropped certain hints about Tiberius' carriage and dress and manners, which he conveyed as taunts under the guise of an excuse. However, when his funeral had been duly performed, a temple and divine ritual were decreed for him.

11. After this prayers were addressed to Tiberius. He, for his part, held forth in various ways about the greatness of the empire, his own unworthiness. "Only the intellect of the divine Augustus was large enough for so great a burden; for his own part, summoned as he had been by him to share his anxieties, he had learnt by experience how difficult and how exposed to risk was the task of governing the empire. In a state, therefore, supported by so many men of renown, they should not give over everything to one man; a larger number by united labours would discharge more easily the duties of the state." There was more grandeur than sincerity in such a speech. Tiberius' language,

even in matters which he did not conceal, was always, whether from nature or custom, hesitating and obscure; and on this occasion, when he was endeavouring to conceal his feelings altogether, it was all the more involved in intricacy and doubt. But the Fathers, whose only fear was lest they should seem to understand, burst into complaints, tears, and prayers; they held forth their hands to the gods, to the statue of Augustus, and to the knees of Tiberius, when he ordered a document to be produced and read. In this was contained a summary of the state's resources, the number of the citizens and allies under arms, the number of the fleets, kingdoms; provinces, taxes direct and indirect, and the necessary disbursements and largesses. All this Augustus had written out with his own hand, adding, perhaps from fear or jealousy, as a piece of advice that the empire should be confined within its present boundaries.

12. Meanwhile, as the senate descended to the most abject entreaties, Tiberius happened to say that although he was not equal to the burden of the whole state, yet he would undertake the guardianship of whatever part should be intrusted to him. Thereupon Asinius Gallus said, "I ask you, Caesar, what part of the state you wish to be intrusted to you." Confused by the unexpected question, for a brief space he was silent; then recovering himself, he replied that it was in no wise becoming to his modesty to choose or avoid anything of that from which he would prefer to be entirely excused. In return Gallus (for he had guessed from his looks that Tiberius was angry) said that he had not put the question with any intention of dividing what could not be separated, but that it might be proved even from his own avowal that the body of the state was single, and must be governed by the mind of a single man. He added an expression of praise with regard to Augustus, and reminded Tiberius himself of his victories, and of the glorious successes he had achieved for so many years when only a civilian. But he did not for all that mollify the anger of Tiberius; he had been long since an object of hatred on the supposition that having married Vipsania, daughter of M. Agrippa, who had once been the wife of Tiberius, he was aiming to be something more than a citizen,

and retained the haughty spirit of his father, Asinius Pollio.

13. After this L. Arruntius, in a speech differing but little from that of Gallus, gave offence in the same way ; and yet Tiberius had no old grudge against him, but suspected him merely because he was rich, energetic, and possessed of excellent qualities and of corresponding repute in his public capacity. Indeed Augustus, when in his last conversations he was discussing what persons would refuse to accept the first place in the state though likely to prove equal to the discharge of its functions, and who would desire it though unequal to them, and who would be both capable and eager, had declared that M. Lepidus was able, but despised them ; that Gallus Asinius was ambitious, but incapable ; and that L. Arruntius was not unworthy, and should the chance be offered, likely to make the venture. About the first two writers are agreed ; some authors, however, have handed down the name of ~~M.~~ <sup>C.</sup> Piso instead of Arruntius ; and all of them except Lepidus were soon destroyed on various charges got up by the contrivance of Tiberius. Even Q. Haterius and Mamercus Scaurus ruffled his suspicious temper, Haterius by saying, " How long, Caesar, will you suffer that the state should have no head ? " Scaurus because he had declared that there was a hope that the prayers of the senate would not be in vain, inasmuch as Tiberius had not vetoed the motion of the consuls by virtue of his tribunician power. Against Haterius he at once broke out into invective ; Scaurus, with whom he was more implacably angry, he passed over in silence. At last, wearied with the general clamour, and the importunity of individuals, he yielded by degrees ; not indeed admitting that he took empire upon himself, yet ceasing to refuse it and to be entreated. It is known that Haterius, when he had entered the palace to beg pardon and was prostrating himself at the knees of Tiberius as he was walking along, was almost killed by the guards, because Tiberius stumbled accidentally or from being entangled by his hands. Yet the peril of so great a man did not soften him, till Haterius, suing to Augusta, was saved by her very solicitous entreaties.

14. Great too was the fawning of the Fathers upon

Augusta. Some proposed that she should be called "the parent," others "the mother of the country," and a majority that to the name of Caesar should be added "son of Julia." The emperor repeatedly declared that the honours paid to women must be kept within bounds, and that he would use the same moderation with regard to those which were assigned to himself; in reality, racked with envy, and taking a woman's elevation as a slight to himself, he did not allow even a lictor to be set apart for her, and vetoed the erection of an altar in memory of her adoption, and other similar proposals. But for Germanicus Caesar he asked the proconsular powers, and envoys were sent to confer them upon him, and at the same time to express sympathy for his grief at the death of Augustus. The reason the same claim was not made for Drusus was that the latter was consul elect, and was in Rome. He named twelve candidates for the praetorship—the number handed down by Augustus; and when the senate urged him to increase it, he bound himself by an oath not to exceed it.

15. Then, for the first time, the elections were transferred from the Campus to the senate; for up to that day, although the most important were carried out at the will of the emperor, yet some were settled by the partialities of the tribes. Nor did the people complain of the loss of their right, save in idle talk; and the senate, freed thereby from largesses and degrading solicitations, gladly upheld the change, Tiberius restricting himself to recommend not more than four candidates, who were to be elected without rejection or canvass. Meanwhile, the tribunes of the plebs requested that they might exhibit, at their own expense, shows which, being added to the calendar, were to be called Augustales, from the name of Augustus. A sum of money was, however, decreed from the treasury, and they were granted also the use of the triumphal robe in the circus, but they were not allowed to ride in a chariot. Soon the annual celebration was transferred to the praetor, to whom had fallen the administration of justice between citizens and foreigners.

16. Such was the condition of affairs in the city when a mutiny broke out among the legions in Pannonia, due to



no new causes, save that the change of emperors promised licence to the excesses of armed bands, and the hope of profit from civil war. In the summer camp three legions were quartered together, under the command of Junius Blaesus, who, hearing of the death of Augustus and the accession of Tiberius, either from mourning or joy had given his men a holiday from their customary duties. From this the soldiers began to be demoralised, to grow quarrelsome, to lend their ears to the talk of every pestilent fellow; in a word, to desire luxury and idleness, and to dislike discipline and toil. There was in the camp a certain Percennius, formerly the leader of a band of theatrical claqueurs, and afterwards a common soldier, unrestrained in his language, and one who had learnt from his theatrical partisanship how to stir up assemblies to disorder. He gradually influenced ignorant minds which were in doubt as to what would be the terms of service now that Augustus was dead, by conferences held at night, or when day was verging into evening; and when the better disposed had dispersed he gathered together all the worse spirits. ✓

17. At last, now that there were also others ready to promote a mutiny, he asked, in the tone of a demagogue, why like slaves they obeyed a few centurions and still fewer tribunes? "When will you dare to demand relief if you do not approach with arms or entreaties an emperor who is new, and as yet not firmly seated on his throne? We have sinned enough through our cowardice during all these years, in that, though we are old, and most of us have bodies maimed as the result of wounds, we submit to a service of thirty or forty years' duration. Not even when discharged is our service at an end, but encamped under a banner we endure the same toils under another name. And if any one outlives these numerous risks he is, in addition, dragged off to the end of the world, where, under the name of lands, he receives marshy swamps or mountainous wastes. For without doubt the service itself is burdensome and profitless; our life and person are valued at ten asses a day; out of this sum we must purchase kit, arms, and tents: from this we have to buy off the cruelty of centurions and exemptions from duty.



But, indeed, the floggings and wounds, the hard winters, the summers passed in the labours of war, terrible campaigning, or barren peace, know no end. There is no other relief than that military life be entered on the fixed conditions, that our wage be a denarius each, and that the sixteenth year put an end to our service; that we be kept after that time no longer under a standard, but that in the same camp our wages be paid in cash. Do the praetorian cohorts who receive two denarii, who after sixteen years are restored to their hearths and homes, encounter more perils? I do not mean to disparage the guards of the capital; nevertheless, here among barbarous tribes we see the enemy from the very doors of our tents."

18. The crowd from various motives shouted applause; these pointing with words of reproach to the marks of the lash, those to their grey locks, and most of them to their threadbare garments and naked bodies. Finally, they reached such a pitch of fury that they proposed to mingle the three legions into one. Driven from their purpose by jealousy, as each sought that honour for his own legion, they turned to other plans, and set up in one spot the eagles and standards of the legions; at the same time they piled up turf and erected a tribunal, that their position might be more conspicuous. As they were bustling about, Blaesus arrived, and began to rebuke and restrain them man by man, exclaiming, "Better dye your hands first in my blood; with less guilt will you slay the legate, than revolt from the emperor. I will either maintain the loyalty of the legions alive, or, murdered, will hasten on your repentance."

19. None the less the turf was piled up, and had now risen breast high, when, overcome at length by his persistency, they gave up the attempt. Blaesus, a man of considerable oratorical skill, said, "It is not through mutiny and tumult that the wishes of the soldiers ought to be conveyed to Caesar, nor did the soldiers of old ask such novel boons of ancient commanders, nor you yourselves of the divine Augustus; and it is little opportune that the anxieties of the emperor, now in their beginning, should be aggravated. If, however, you are endeavouring in time of peace to attempt what you did not demand even when

victorious in civil war, why, contrary to the habit of obedience, contrary to the sacred bond of discipline, do you plot violence? Pick out ambassadors, and give them instructions in your presence." They shouted with acclamation that the son of Blaesus, a tribune, should undertake this embassy, and demand for the soldiers a discharge after sixteen years. They would give their other instructions when the first had succeeded. When the young man had departed, there was comparative quiet; but the soldiers were arrogant because the fact that the legate's son was the pleader of their common cause showed that what they had failed to obtain by moderation had been extorted by strong measures.

20. Meanwhile the companies that had been sent to Nauportus before the commencement of the mutiny to make roads and bridges, and for other purposes, hearing that a mutiny had broken out in the camp, tore up their standards, and after plundering the neighbouring villages and Nauportus itself, which was like a town, assailed the centurions who endeavoured to restrain them, with jeers and abuse, and finally with blows; their rage being especially directed against Aufidienus Rufus, the prefect of the camp, whom they dragged from a cart loaded with knapsacks, and drove on at the head of the column, while they asked him in ridicule "whether he liked to endure such huge burdens and such long marches." The reason was that Rufus, long a common soldier, afterwards a centurion, and subsequently prefect of the camp, tried to revive the old severe discipline, himself an old hand at work and toil, and all the more merciless because he had endured misery.

21. On the arrival of these troops the mutiny broke out afresh, and straggling from the camp they devastated the surrounding country. Blaesus ordered a few, who were especially laden with booty, to be punished with the lash, and shut up in prison, as a terror to the rest; for even then the commander was obeyed by the centurions and all the best of the common soldiers. The offenders struggled with those who were dragging them off, clasped the knees of the bystanders, called now upon the names of their comrades one by one, and now upon the century, cohort, and

legion, in whose ranks each served, exclaiming that the same fate threatened them all. At the same time they heap reproaches on their commander, appeal to heaven and the gods, and leave nothing undone to stir up hatred, pity, fear, and rage. Everybody at once rushed to the spot, and bursting open the prison, loosened the chains, and now added to their ranks deserters and men convicted on capital charges.

22. From this point the outbreak became more violent, and the mutiny found more leaders. A certain Vibulenus, a common soldier, was raised on high in front of the tribunal of Blaesus upon the shoulders of the bystanders, before a crowd of rioters eager to know what he intended to do. He said, "You have indeed restored light and air to these innocent and wretched men; but who will restore life to my brother, or my brother to me? He, sent to you last night by the German army in the interests of our common weal, was murdered by the gladiators whom the general maintains and arms for the destruction of his soldiers. Say, Blaesus, where is the corpse you have flung away? Not even an enemy grudges burial. When I have sated my grief with kisses and with tears, bid me too be butchered, provided only these soldiers here may bury us, slain as we are for no guilty deed, but because we consulted the interest of the legions."

23. He added force to these remarks by his tears, and by smiting his breast and face with his hands. Then casting aside those upon whose shoulders he was raised aloft, and impetuously throwing himself at the feet of man after man, he stirred up so much uproar and indignation, that some of the soldiers bound the gladiators who were among the slaves of Blaesus, some the rest of his household, while others rushed out to look for the body. And if it had not quickly become known that no body was found, and that the slaves, though tortures were applied, denied the murder, and that he had never had a brother, they would not have been far from the murder of their commander. As it was, they thrust out the tribunes and prefect of the camp; the knapsacks of the fugitives were plundered, and a centurion, Lucilius, was slain, to whom with soldiers' wit they had

given the nick-name "Bring me another," because when he had broken one vine-rod upon a man's back he used to cry out in a loud voice for another, and again another. The rest took refuge in concealment, only one being detained, namely, Clemens Julius, who, on account of his ready wit, was deemed fit to carry out the instructions of the soldiers. Nay, the eighth and fifteenth legions themselves would actually have come to blows, since the former demanded for execution a centurion surnamed Sirpicus, and the men of the fifteenth defended him, if the soldiers of the ninth had not interposed entreaties, and to those who scorned these, threats.

24. The news of this drove Tiberius, close as he was, and especially prone to hush up all gloomy intelligence, to send his son Drusus with the leading men of the state and two praetorian cohorts, but with no definite instructions; he was to take his measures according to circumstances. And the cohorts were strengthened beyond their usual force by picked soldiery. A large part of the praetorian cavalry was added, and the flower of the German troops, who at that time formed the emperor's guard; at the same time, the prefect of the praetorian guards, Aelius Seianus, who had been appointed as colleague of his own father, a person of great influence with Tiberius, was sent to direct the young prince, and to promise punishments or rewards to the soldiers. When Drusus drew near the legions came to meet him as a matter of duty; but not gladly, as is customary, nor bedight with decorations, but with unsightly squalor, and in their looks, although they counterfeited grief, rather approaching to defiance.

25. After he entered the ramparts they strengthen the gates with pickets, and order bodies of armed men to wait at certain parts of the camp; the rest surround the tribunal in a dense throng. Drusus stood there demanding silence with his hand. As often as they turned their eyes back on the multitude they clamoured with fierce cries; then catching sight of Caesar they trembled. There was now a confused hum, now a savage outcry, and suddenly a lull. Urged by the conflicting emotions of their minds, they alternately felt terror and caused it. At length, when the



confusion ceased, he read his father's letter, in which it had been fully written that his special care was for his brave legions, with whom he had endured many a war; that as soon as ever his mind had a respite from grief he would discuss their demands before the senate; meantime he had sent his son that he might grant without delay what could be conceded at once, the rest must be reserved for the senate, which it was right should not be considered as without a share in either indulgence or severity.

26. Answer was made by the crowd that instructions had been given to Clemens, a centurion, which he was to convey to the emperor. He began by discussing discharge at the end of sixteen years, and the rewards of completed service, and demanding that the daily pay should be a denarius, and that the veterans should not be kept under a standard. When, in answer to this, Drusus pleaded in excuse the decision of the senate and of his father, he was interrupted by a shout. "Why had he come neither to increase the soldiers' pay nor to lighten their labours; in short, with no power to do them a service? Yet, in truth, to scourge them and put them to death was allowed to everybody. Tiberius in former days was accustomed, in the name of Augustus, to baulk the wants of the legions; Drusus had brought up these wiles again. Were the sons only of the Imperial family to come to them? Surely it was a new thing that the emperor should refer to the senate only the soldiers' interests. The same senate, then, should be consulted as often as punishments or wars were announced; or were their rewards to be dependent on despots, and their punishments without an arbitrator?"

27. Finally, they quit the tribunal, and with actions that are the cause of strife and the beginning of conflicts, shake their fists at any of the praetorian soldiers or friends of Caesar who met them, with especial hostility to Lentulus. He, above all others, was thought by his age and prestige in war to encourage Drusus, and to be foremost in regarding with horror these breaches of military discipline. And not long after, as he was leaving the camp attended by Caesar, and in foresight of his danger was making back for the winter camp, they surround him with enquiries as to



whither he was hastening—was it to the emperor or to the senate, there also to oppose the interests of the legions? At the same time they menace him, and throw stones. And now, covered with blood by a blow from a stone, and feeling no doubt as to his fate, he was saved by the running up of the troops which had arrived with Drusus.

28. A mere accident calmed a night which was threatening, and likely to break out into crime; for the moon in a clear sky was seen suddenly to grow dim. The soldiery, ignorant of the cause, took it as an omen of passing events, comparing the failure of the heavenly body to their own efforts, and thinking that their efforts would turn out favourably if the brightness and splendour should be restored to the goddess. So with the sound of brazen instruments, with the blare of trumpets and horns, they raise a din: according as she grew brighter or darker they rejoiced or grew sad; and when the gathering clouds obstructed their sight, and it was thought she was buried in gloom, as minds once panic-stricken are readily moved to superstition, they lamented that endless toil was portended for them, and that the gods turned away from their crimes. Caesar, thinking that he ought to make use of this change in their temper, and to turn to wise account what chance had thrown in his way, gives orders for the tents to be visited; the centurion Clemens is summoned with all those who by their good qualities were popular with the crowd. These men make their way in among the patrols, pickets, and guards of the gates, offer hope, threaten terrors. "How long shall we beset the emperor's son? What will be the end of our conflicts? Shall we take the oath to Percennius and Vibulenus? Will Percennius and Vibulenus bestow pay upon the soldiers and lands upon the discharged? In a word, will they in the place of the Neros and Drusi control the empire of the Roman people? Why are we not rather the first to repent as we were the last to offend? Demands made in common meet with slow attention; favours for yourselves alone you may earn and receive at one and the same instant." With minds moved by these words, and growing mutually suspicious, they separate—recruits from veterans, legion from legion. Then gradually the love of obedience returns; they

leave the gates, and they restore to their proper places the standards which, at the outbreak of the mutiny, had been collected together into one spot.

29. Drusus having summoned an assembly at break of day, although unskilled in speaking, yet with inborn dignity attacked their former, and approved their present attitude. "He refused to be subdued by terror and threats; if he were to see them inclining to submission and hear them entreating, he would write to his father to turn a favourable ear to the prayers of the legions." At their request Blaesus and L. Apronius, a Roman knight on Drusus' staff, and Justus Catonius, the centurion of the first rank, are again sent to Tiberius. After this there arose a difference of opinion, some thinking that they should await the envoys' return, and in the meantime appease the soldiers by kindness, others that they should proceed with stronger measures. "There was no mean with the rabble; unless they feel terror, they inspire it; when they are thoroughly cowed, they can with impunity be despised; while the feeling of superstition still influences them, terror should be applied by their leader by removing the authors of the mutiny." The disposition of Drusus was naturally inclined to the harsher course; he summoned Vibulenus and Percennius, and ordered them to be put to death. According to the ordinary account they were buried within the general's tent; it is, however, reported by some that their bodies were, as a public spectacle, flung outside the ramparts.

30. Then all the chief conspirators were searched for, and some wandering outside the camp were put to death by the centurions and soldiers of the praetorian cohorts; some were even handed over by the companies themselves as a proof of loyalty. The woes of the soldiers were increased by the winter, which came early with storms so unceasing and so severe that they could not leave their tents or meet together; with difficulty only could they preserve the standards which were being torn away by the wind and rain. Their terror of the divine wrath also remained; "it was not without cause that the stars grew dim in horror of their impiety, and the storms burst down. There was no other relief for their ills, save that they should leave an

ill-omened and polluted camp, and that freed from guilt each should go back again to his own winter quarters." First the eighth, then the fifteenth legion returned; the ninth had again and again demanded that they should wait for Tiberius' letter, but soon isolated by the departure of the others, it anticipated of its own choice its impending destiny. Drusus, too, without waiting for the return of the envoys, because affairs on the spot had sufficiently settled down, returned to Rome.

31. About the same time, and from the same causes, the German legions mutinied with more fury in proportion to their greater numbers; and they had great hopes that Germanicus Caesar would be unable to endure the sovereignty of another, and would offer himself to the legions, who would bring over to him the whole empire by their strength. There were two armies on the banks of the Rhine: that which was named the upper, under the general C. Silius: the lower was commanded by Aulus Caecina. The supreme direction was in the hands of Germanicus, who was at that time busily engaged in assessing the census of the Gauls. The troops whom Silius commanded watched with wavering minds the fortune of the other mutiny; but the soldiers of the lower army fell headlong into a frenzy, the movement beginning with the twenty-first and fifth legions, and the first and twentieth legions being also dragged into it; for they were stationed in the same summer quarters in the territory of the Ubii with no employment, or only light duties. Accordingly, when they heard of the death of Augustus, a mob of slaves enlisted in a levy lately held in Rome, accustomed to license and impatient of toil, tainted the ignorant minds of the other soldiers; the time had come, they said, when they should demand, the veterans an early discharge, the young more liberal pay, and every one a limit to their hardships, and when they should take vengeance for the cruelty of the centurions. It was not one man only who uttered these words, as did Percennius among the legions of Pannonia, nor was it in the ears of trembling soldiers looking with dread to other and stronger armies; but there were many looks and voices for mutiny. "The fortunes of Rome were

placed in their hand; the state was being augmented by their victories; from them the emperors assumed their titles."

32. Nor did their commander check them; indeed, the madness of so many had deprived him of his resolution. In a sudden fit of frenzy they rush with drawn swords upon the centurions, who were from of old an object of dislike to the soldiers, and the first cause of their fury. They threw them to the ground, they beat them sixty to one, so as to equal the number of the centurions; then, mangled and torn, and some of them lifeless, they cast them forth outside the ramparts, or into the river Rhine. When Septimius had escaped to the tribunal, and lay grovelling at Caecina's feet, so persistent a demand was made for him that at length he was given up to execution. Cassius Chaerea, who afterwards by the assassination of Gaius Caesar obtained a lasting memory for himself among posterity, and was at that time a young man of high spirit, opened up a way for himself with his sword through the armed throng that opposed him. Neither tribune nor camp-prefect any longer maintained his authority; the soldiers shared among themselves the watches, pickets, and whatever else the necessities of the moment dictated. To those who estimated more profoundly the temper of soldiers, it was a striking proof of a great and implacable movement that it was neither in scattered bodies nor at the instigation of a few, but with unanimity, that they kindled to passion, and with unanimity that they grew calm with such uniformity and consistency, that you might suppose they were under command.

33. Meantime the news that Augustus had died was brought to Germanicus, who was, as we have said, receiving the schedules of property in the Gauls. He was married to the late emperor's granddaughter, Agrippina, and had several children by her; yet though he was himself the son of Drusus, brother of Tiberius, and the grandson of Augusta; he was nevertheless harassed by the secret animosity of his uncle and grandmother towards himself, the causes of which were more wounding because unjust. For the Drusi enjoyed great renown among the Roman people, and



it was believed that if he obtained power he would restore freedom ; from which cause the same good feeling and hope were displayed towards Germanicus. For he was a man of courteous temperament and wondrous affability, quite a contrast to the haughtiness and reserve which characterised the conversation and looks of Tiberius. To this were added feminine jealousies—Livia feeling a stepmother's malice towards Agrippina, and Agrippina herself being rather excitable, only that owing to her purity and love for her husband she turned to good a mind otherwise unbridled.

34. But the nearer Germanicus was to the highest hope, the more zealously did he exert himself for Tiberius. He caused himself and those next to him in rank and the states of the Belgae to swear allegiance to the emperor. Then hearing of the mutiny of the legions, hastily setting out, he met them outside the camp, their eyes cast down to the ground as if in repentance. After he had entered the rampart, confused complaints began to be heard. And some, taking him by the hand under the pretence of kissing it, thrust his fingers into their mouths that he might feel their toothless gums ; others showed their limbs bent with age. He ordered the throng standing by him, because it seemed a promiscuous gathering, to depart into their several companies ; it was replied that they would hear better as they were. He ordered the standards to be advanced that this at least might distinguish the cohorts ; they tardily obeyed. Then beginning with respectful mention of Augustus he turned to the victories and triumphs of Tiberius, recounting with especial praise the brilliant achievements he had accomplished with those legions in the Germanies. Then he eulogised the unanimity of Italy, the loyalty of the Gauls ; no mutiny or strife anywhere. These words were heard in silence, or with only a slight murmur.

35. When he touched upon the mutiny, asking where was their military obedience, where the glory of their former discipline, whither had they banished their tribunes and their centurions, they all bared their bodies, and pointed reproachfully to the scars of their wounds, and the weals of the lashes. Then with a confused outcry they complained of the prices of exemptions, the scantiness of



their pay, the hardness of their tasks, and with especial mention they broke out into invective against the ramparts, the trenches, the collection of fodder, of timber, and of fire-wood, and whatever else was procured from necessity, or to counteract idleness in the camp. Fiercest of all rose the cry of the veterans, who counting up thirty or more campaigns implored him to relieve the worn out, and begged that they might not die in the same toils, but might end a service so vexatious, and retire without destitution. There were some also who demanded the money bequeathed by the divine Augustus with words of propitious omen for Germanicus; and if he coveted sovereignty they showed that they were ready to help him. Then, indeed, as though he were polluted by guilt, he leapt down headlong from the tribunal. They opposed his departure with arms, threatening him if he did not return; but he, exclaiming that he would die rather than cast off his loyalty, drew his sword from his side, and having raised it aloft would have plunged it into his breast if those who were nearest had not grasped his right hand and forcibly held it back. That part of the assembly which was on the outside, and closely packed together, and, what is almost incredible to relate, some individuals coming close up, exhorted him to strike; and a soldier named Calusidius offered him his drawn sword, adding, "This is sharper." This seemed to them even in their madness a savage act and of evil precedent, and there was a lull, during which Caesar was hurried off by his friends to his tent.

36. There they took counsel about a remedy; for it was announced that envoys were being prepared who were to draw over the upper army to the same cause; the capital of the Ubii was marked out for destruction, and hands stained with rapine were going to break forth to the pillage of Gaul. The anxiety was increased by the knowledge that the enemy were aware of the Roman mutiny, and would, if the bank were left unguarded, attack them; on the other hand, if the auxiliary forces and allies were armed against the retiring legions a civil war was at once begun. Rigour was dangerous, generosity scandalous; whether nothing or everything were granted to the soldiery the state was in

peril. Accordingly, plans having been mutually considered, it was determined that a letter should be written in the name of the emperor; discharge was to be granted to those who had served twenty campaigns; those who had served sixteen were to be released from the military oath, and kept as reserves under a standard released from all other duties save that of repelling the enemy, the legacies they had asked for were to be paid and doubled.

37. The soldiers perceived that these things were invented to meet the crisis, and at once made their demands. The discharge was hastened on by means of the tribunes, but the attempt was made to put off payment till each reached his winter quarters. The men of the fifth and twenty-first legions, however, did not depart until in those very summer quarters the sum due was collected from the private resources of Caesar and his friends, and paid in full. The legate *Caecina* led back the first and twentieth legions to the state of the Ubii in disgraceful order, for the money bags of the legion which had been taken from the general were carried among the standards and the eagles. Germanicus, setting out to the upper army, compelled the second, thirteenth, and sixteenth legions to take the oath without delay. The fourteenth hesitated a little; but their pay and their discharge were presented to them, although they did not demand it.

38. But an outbreak had been begun among the *Chauci* by veterans of the disaffected legions serving on garrison duty. These were put down for a time by the instant execution of two soldiers. This was by the orders of *M' Ennius*, more as a salutary precedent than by any authority granted him. Then when the sedition increased he ran away, and having been discovered after his hiding-place had become unsafe, he borrowed a defence from audacity: "It is not the prefect but Germanicus your general and Tiberius your emperor that you are outraging." When those who had opposed him were at once cowed, snatching up the standard he turned to the river-bank, and crying out that if any one left the ranks he would be considered a deserter, he led them back to their winter quarters, disaffected indeed, yet daring nothing.

39. Meanwhile, at the altar of the Ubii envoys from the senate came to Germanicus, who had now returned thither. There two legions, the first and the twentieth, and the veterans lately discharged and kept under a standard, were wintering. Panic-stricken and mad with the consciousness of guilt, they were penetrated by fear that persons had come by the orders of the senate, who would make void what they had extorted by mutiny. And as it is the custom with the mob to accuse some one of charges, however false, they assailed Munatius Plancus, an ex-consul and chief of the embassy, as the author of the senate's decree; and at the time of the first sleep they began to demand the flag which was in Germanicus's quarters, and making a rush to the entrance they burst open the door, forced Caesar to rise from his couch, and compelled him to give up the flag on instant peril of death. Then, as they were straggling along the roads they met the envoys, ~~who hearing of the~~ tumult were making for Germanicus. They loaded them with reproaches, and prepared to murder them, Plancus especially, whom his rank had deterred from flight; nor was there any other refuge for him in his peril save the camp of the first legion. There, clinging to the standards and eagle, he protected himself by their sanctity; but had not the eagle-bearer Calpurnius kept off extreme violence, an envoy of the Roman people, a thing rare even among our enemies, would in a Roman camp have stained with his blood the altars of the gods. At last, at daybreak, after the general and soldiers and their deeds were recognised, Germanicus entered the camp, and ordered Plancus to be conducted to him, and received him upon the tribunal. Then reproaching their fated madness, which, he said, was rising again by the anger not so much of the soldiers as of the gods, he disclosed to them why the envoys had come; deplored in eloquent terms "the violated privileges of the embassy, the serious and undeserved danger of Plancus, and at the same time the disgraceful course upon which the legion had entered;" and, the assembly being confounded rather than calmed, dismissed the envoys under the protection of some auxiliary cavalry.

40. Amid this alarm everybody condemned Germanicus

for not proceeding to the upper army, where he would find obedience and help against the insurgents: "Enough and more than enough mistakes, they said, had been made by the discharge and payment, and by gentle measures. Even though he held his own life cheap, why did he keep his little son and pregnant wife among madmen, who violated every human law? Let him at least restore these to their grandsire and their country." After a long delay, although his wife scorned the idea, and protested that she was the daughter of the divine Augustus, and no craven in the face of danger, he at length embraced her and their son with many tears, and prevailed on her to depart. The pitiable procession of women set forth slowly, the general's fugitive wife clasping to her breast her little son, her friends' wives weeping about her as they were forcing themselves away with her; and not less sorrowful were the husbands who were remaining behind.

41. Caesar appeared, not as if triumphant or commanding in his own camp, but as if in a conquered city; and while the groans and wailings attracted the ears and eyes even of the soldiers, they came forth from their tents. What are these sounds of mourning? they inquired; what this sad sight? Here were women of rank without a centurion or a soldier to escort them, with no sign of a general's wife, none of the usual retinue; they were going to the Treveri, who were foreigners. This awoke shame and pity; they recalled the memory of her father Agrippa and her grandfather Augustus, her father-in-law Drusus, her renown as a mother of many children, her distinguished purity; then they thought of her child born in the camp, reared in the tents of the legions, whom, in soldiers' language, they called Caligula, because, to win the popular affections, he generally wore upon his feet a covering of that name. But nothing influenced them so much as jealousy towards the Treveri. They besought Agrippina; they beset her path, that she might return and stay with them; some ran to meet her, while most of them returned to Germanicus; and he in all the freshness of his indignation and anger thus began to address the throng around:—

42. "My wife and son are not dearer to me than my



father and the state; but he will be defended by his majesty, the Roman empire by the other armies. My wife and children, whom for your glory I would gladly devote to death, I am now removing far from your madness, so that whatever wickedness of yours is impending, it may be expiated by my blood alone, and that you may not be made more guilty by the slaughter of a great-grandson of Augustus, and the murder of a daughter-in-law of Tiberius. For what is there that in these days you have not dared and desecrated? What name shall I give to this gathering? Am I to call you soldiers—you who have surrounded your emperor's son with ramparts and with arms? or citizens—who have so spurned the authority of the senate? You have broken the rights due even to foes, the sanctity of an embassy and the law of nations. The divine Julius crushed with a single word the mutiny of his legions by calling 'Quirites' those who were refusing to obey him. The divine Augustus cowed with a look and a glance the legions which had conquered at Actium; it would be a strange and unworthy thing if even the soldiers of Spain and Syria should despise me, who, though not their equal, am yet their descendant. You, men of the first and twentieth legions—you of the first, who have received your standards from the hand of Tiberius; you of the twentieth who have shared with me so many battles, and been enriched with so many rewards, are you not making a noble return to your leader? Is this the news I am to bear to my father, while from the other provinces he hears nothing but joyful tidings? Am I to say that his new recruits and his veterans are not satisfied with discharge and pay; that here alone centurions are slain, tribunes driven away, ambassadors besieged, the camp and rivers dyed with blood, and myself dragging on my life as a favour among hostile crowds?

43. "Why, on the first day of our meeting, why did you, my blind friends, wrest from me that sword which I was preparing to plunge into my breast? Better and more loving was his act who offered me his sword; I should at least have fallen before I had been privy to the many disgraces of my army; you would have chosen a leader who



might, indeed, have let my death pass unavenged, but would have requited the disaster of Varus and the three legions. For God forbid that the Belgæ, even though they proffer their help, should have the glory and renown of succouring the Roman name and crushing the nations of Germany. May your mind, divine Augustus, now welcomed to heaven, your image, father Drusus, your memory, acting in conjunction with these same soldiers, now inspired by shame and pride, wash out this stain, and turn this civil wrath to the destruction of the enemy. You also, soldiers, in whom I now see a change of demeanour and a change of heart, if you are for restoring their envoys to the senate, his due allegiance to the emperor, and to me my wife and son, stand aside from pollution, and separate from yourselves the mutinous; this will be a sure token of repentance, and a pledge of your fidelity."

44. Hereupon with suppliant humility confessing the justice of his reproaches, they implored him to punish the guilty, to pardon those who had gone astray, and to lead them against the enemy. They begged that his wife might be brought back, and that the nursling of the legions might return, and not be given up as a hostage to the Gauls. He made excuses for the return of Agrippina on account of her approaching confinement and of the winter; but his son should come, and the rest they should carry out themselves. They hurried away, changed men, in all directions, and dragged all the ringleaders of the mutiny in bonds to C. Caetronius, the legate of the first legion, who tried and punished them one by one as follows. The legions stood with drawn swords after the manner of an assembly; the accused was placed on a platform, and pointed out by the tribune; if they shouted "Guilty!" he was thrown down headlong, and cut to pieces. The soldiers revelled in the slaughter as though they were thus acquitting themselves; and Caesar did not prevent it, since without any order from him the cruelty and odium of the deed fell on the same men. The example was followed by the veterans, who not long afterwards were sent into Rhaetia on the plea of defending the province against the threats of the Suevi; although the true reason was that they might be removed from a

camp rendered savage by the severity of the remedy, not less than by the recollection of their guilt. Germanicus then proceeded to hold an election of centurions; they were called up one after another by the commander, and each stated his name, rank, country, the number of his campaigns, his deeds of bravery in battle, and, if any, his military rewards; if the tribunes and legion approved his energy and integrity he retained his rank; when they one and all charged him with greed or brutality he was cashiered.

45. But though the immediate disturbance was thus allayed, a difficulty of no less importance still remained through the unruly spirit of the fifth and twenty-first legions, who were wintering sixty miles away at a place called "Old Camp," for they had been the first to begin the mutiny; the most savage acts had been perpetrated by their hands, and now, undismayed by the punishment of their fellow-soldiers, and unmoved by their repentance, they retained their exasperation. Caesar accordingly prepared to send legionary soldiers, a fleet, and allies down the Rhine, determined on active measures should they reject his authority.

46. But at Rome, while the issue of events in Illyricum was not yet known, and they had heard of the rising of the German legions, the excited citizens began to find fault with Tiberius, because, while he himself by his hypocritical irresolution made game of the feeble and defenceless members of the state, the senate, and the populace, the soldiers were in the interval revolting, and could not be crushed by the as yet immature authority of two striplings. He ought to go in person and oppose his imperial majesty to mutineers, who would be sure to yield when they saw their commander, ripe as he was in experience, and with supreme authority to punish or reward. Could Augustus in the feebleness of age visit the Germanies so often, and was Tiberius, in the prime of his years, to sit in the senate carping at the utterances of the Fathers? Adequate measures had been taken to secure the slavery of Rome; remedies should be applied to the spirit of the soldiers that they might be willing to put up with peace.

47. In spite of these remonstrances the purpose of Tiberius

remained immovable and fixed, not to leave the capital of the empire, or to expose himself and the state to danger. Indeed he had many conflicting sources of anxiety. The army in Germany was the stronger, that in Pannonia nearer; the former relied on the strength of the Gauls, the latter threatened Italy. Which should he prefer? And he was afraid lest those whom he visited second should be incensed by the insult. But his sons could visit both alike without impairing his own majesty, the dignity of which was greater at a distance; at the same time it was pardonable for mere youths to refer some things to their father; and if the soldiers resisted Germanicus or Drusus, he himself might conciliate or crush them. What resource was left, if they despised their emperor? Nevertheless, as though on the point of departure, he chose his retinue, collected his baggage, and equipped a fleet; and then, under the various pretexts of winter and business, he cheated first sensible men, then the populace, and longest of all the provinces.

48. Meantime, Germanicus, although he had collected his army, and had prepared vengeance for the mutineers, still thought that an opportunity should be granted them, that they might, perchance, taught by the recent warning, consider their own safety. He, therefore, sent on a letter to Caccina, saying that he was coming with a strong force, and that if they did not anticipate him by executing the guilty, he would slaughter them all alike. This letter Caccina read in confidence to the bearers of the eagles and standards, and all in the camp who were most free from the taint of disaffection, and advised them to rescue the whole army from disgrace, and themselves from death. "For in peace," he said, "a man's motives and deserts are considered, but when war rages the innocent and guilty perish alike." They, after sounding such persons as they thought fit, and finding that the greater part of the legions remained loyal, in accordance with the proposal of the legate, fixed an hour at which to cut down the most degraded and most disaffected. Then, giving the signal to one another, they burst into the tents, and cut them down all unawares, none save those who were in the secret knowing what was the beginning, or what would be the end, of the slaughter.

49. This scene was a contrast to all the civil wars that have ever taken place. Not in battle, not from an opposing camp, but from the same beds -- those whom the light of day had seen taking their meals together, and night resting together in sleep, separate into parties and hurl their weapons at each other. Uproar, murder, bloodshed, were alone visible ; the cause was wrapt in mystery ; all else was swayed by chance ; and some of the loyal were slain, for some of the most disloyal, on discovering against whom the furious attack was directed, had also snatched up arms. No lieutenant, no tribune was there to govern their fury ; licence and vengeance and the limits of revenge were left to the troops. Germanicus, soon after, entering the camp, exclaimed with many tears, "This is death, not cure," and ordered the bodies to be burnt. Even then, as an expiation of their madness, there flashed upon their savage hearts a desire to march against the enemy ; for they thought that the shades of their fellow soldiers could be appeased in no other way than by themselves receiving on their impious breasts the marks of honourable wounds. Caesar followed up the enthusiasm of his soldiers, and after making a bridge of boats, sent across the Rhine twelve thousand men from the legions, twenty-six cohorts of allies, and eight squadrons of cavalry, whose discipline had been unstained during the mutiny.

50. The Germans were exultant with joy hard by, while we were detained, first by the public mourning for the death of Augustus, and afterwards by our dissensions. But the Roman commander in a forced march made his way through the Caesian wood and over the barrier begun by Tiberius ; he pitched his camp on the barrier, with his front and rear fortified by the rampart, his flanks by a barricade of felled trees. Then he marched through the thickly wooded country, and deliberated which of two roads he should take -- the short and customary route or the more difficult and untried one, which would on that account be unguarded by the enemy. The longer route was selected, and the remaining preparations hurried on, for scouts had brought in the intelligence that this night was with the Germans one of festivity, and kept as a holiday with the



customary banquets. Caecina was ordered to lead the way with some light armed cohorts, and to clear away the obstructing growth of the woods; the legions followed at a moderate interval. A night bright with stars aided their progress, and they arrived at the villages of the Marsi, and stationed pickets round them, at the very time when they were lying on the couches and at the tables, with no sense of fear and with no sentries on the watch; so entirely was everything disordered by neglect. Fear of war there was none; and their very peace was but the languid and relaxing ease of the drunkard.

51. That the devastation might be all the wider, Caesar divided his legions eager for the fray into four columns, and ravaged a space of fifty miles with fire and sword. Neither sex nor age moved his pity; things sacred and profane alike, the temple, too, most frequented by those nations, and called by them Tamfana's, was levelled to the ground. The soldiers who had cut down enemies half-asleep, unarmed or straggling, got away unscathed. This massacre roused to arms the Bructeri, the Tubantes, and Usipetes, and they occupied the passes through which the army must return. This became known to our general, and he ordered his advance alike for marching and fighting. Part of the cavalry with the auxiliary cohorts led the way, then the first legion followed, and with the baggage in the middle the men of the twenty-first closed in the left flank, and the men of the fifth the right. The twentieth legion strengthened the rear, and behind them came the rest of the allies. Meantime, the enemy remained quiet until the line should defile through the woods; then attacking the flanks and van without much vigour, they charged the rear-guard with all their force. And now the light-armed cohorts were being thrown into confusion by the dense throngs of Germans, when Caesar, riding up to the men of the twentieth, exclaimed in a loud voice, that now was the time to wipe out the disgrace of the mutiny. Let them advance, he said, and hasten to turn their guilt to glory. They were fired with courage at these words, and with a simultaneous charge broke through the enemy, drove him back to the open, and slaughtered him there;



at the same time the forces of the van got clear of the woods, and pitched a camp. From this point their course was unmolested, and confident in their recent successes, and forgetful of the past, the soldiers were placed in winter quarters.

52. The news of these events filled Tiberius with joy and anxiety; he was glad that the mutiny was quelled, but the fact that Germanicus had won the good-will of the soldiers by distributing money and hastening on their discharge, this, coupled with his nephew's military renown, filled him with vexation. Nevertheless he brought the war under the notice of the senate, and dwelt long on the valour of Germanicus in language too elaborated for the purpose of effect to allow the senators to believe it came from his inmost heart. In briefer terms he praised Drusus and the end of the Illyrian outbreak, but with more warmth and in heartier language; and he also confirmed, even in the armies of Pannonia, everything that Germanicus had conceded.

53. In the same year Julia breathed her last; she had long been confined for her profligacy by her father Augustus, first in the island of Pandataria, and afterwards in the town of the Rhagini, who dwell by the straits of Sicily. She had married Tiberius while Caius and Lucius Caesar were still in their prime, and had looked down upon him as no match for her. Tiberius had no other reason more powerful for retiring to Rhodes. When he obtained the throne he left her in exile and disgrace, and after the murder of Postumius Agrippa deprived of every hope; and finally caused her death by want and a lingering disease, thinking that her end would pass unnoticed from the length of her exile. The cause of his cruelty to Sempronius Gracchus was one and the same: he was a man of noble family, clever intellect, and misplaced eloquence, who had seduced this same Julia when she was the wife of Marcus Agrippa. And this was not the end of their intrigue. When she was given to Tiberius her importunate paramour inflamed her with insolence and hatred towards her husband; and a letter which Julia wrote to Augustus her father, containing an attack on Tiberius, was supposed to have been composed by Gracchus. He was accordingly banished to Cercina, an

island in the African sea, and endured exile there for fourteen years. The soldiers who were sent at this time to execute him found him on a promontory of the shore, expecting no glad news. On their arrival he begged for a short respite that he might address by letter his last commands to his wife Alliaria, and then offered his throat to the assassins with a courage in death not unworthy the Sempronian name which his life had disgraced. It is related by some that these soldiers were sent not from Rome but by L. Asprenas, proconsul of Africa, at the instigation of Tiberius, who had hoped in vain that the ill-fame of the murderous deed might be shifted on to Asprenas.

54. The same year saw the establishment of new religious institutions in the addition of the priesthood of the Augustal brothers, just as long previously Titus Tatius had instituted the Titian brothers to preserve the sacred rites of the Sabines. Twenty-one were chosen by lot from the first men of the state; Tiberius, Drusus, Claudius, and Germanicus were added to them. The Augustal games then held for the first time were disturbed by tumults arising out of the rivalry of the actors. Augustus had looked favourably upon such pastimes in order to humour Maecenas, who was passionately devoted to Bathyllus; nor was he personally averse to such amusements, and thought it a mark of affability to take part in the pleasures of the populace. The bent of Tiberius' character was different; but he did not as yet venture to turn to more serious habits a people treated with indulgence for so many years.

55. In the consulship of Drusus Caesar and C. Norbanus a triumph was decreed to Germanicus, although war still continued; and although he was preparing with all his strength for the summer campaign, he anticipated it at the beginning of spring by a sudden inroad on the Chatti. For a hope had arisen that the enemy were being divided between Arminius and Segestes, famous respectively for treachery and loyalty to our side. Arminius was the disturber of Germany; Segestes again and again disclosed to us that a rising was on foot, and especially at that last banquet after which they rushed to arms; and he advised

Varus to bind himself, Arminius, and the rest of the chiefs; the people, he said, would dare nothing if their leaders were removed, and he would have time to weigh the accusations, and to discriminate the innocent. But Varus fell by fate and the arms of Arminius. Segestes, although drawn by the national movement into the war, yet remained at variance, his animosity being heightened on personal grounds, because his daughter, who had been betrothed to another, had been carried off by Arminius, the hated son-in-law of a father who was already his enemy; all the ties of love between friends became with foes incentives to passion.

56. Germanicus accordingly gave Caecina four legions, five thousand auxiliaries, and some hastily raised bands of Germans dwelling on our side of the Rhine. He himself led the same number of legions, and twice the number of allies; and having built a fort on the site of his father's ramparts on the Taunus range, hurried his army, lightly equipped, against the Chatti, and left L. Apronius to make roads and bridges. For, what was rare in that climate, owing to a drought and the lowness of the rivers, he had accomplished a rapid march without obstruction, and he feared for his return rains and swollen currents. But so unexpected to the Chatti was his arrival that all whom age or sex had rendered helpless were at once captured or massacred. The warriors had swum across the river Adrana, and were trying to keep back the Romans as they were commencing a bridge. Subsequently driven back by missiles and arrows, and having vainly sought terms of peace, some fled to Germanicus, while the rest abandoned their cantons and villages, and wandered into the woods. Caesar, after burning Mattium, the chief town of the tribe, and devastating the open country, turned back to the Rhine; and the enemy, omitting what was his usual custom as often as he retreated for a ruse rather than from alarm, did not dare to harass their rear as they retired. It had been the intention of the Cherusci to aid the Chatti, but Caecina kept them in alarm by marching up and down their country, and the Marsi who ventured to join battle he checked in a successful engagement.

57. Not long after envoys came from Segestes begging for aid against the violence of his countrymen, by whom he was hard pressed, owing to the influence of Arminius, who was more powerful than himself because he advocated war. For with barbarians, the more ready in daring a man is, the more loyal he is considered, and the more able in times of rebellion. To the envoys Segestes had added his son, named Segimundus, but the youth hung back through consciousness of guilt. The truth was, that in the year in which the Germans revolted he had been consecrated priest at the altar of the Ubii, but had torn the sacred fillets, and fled to the insurgents. Induced, however, to hope for pardon from the Romans, he conveyed his father's instructions, and was received with kindness, and sent with an escort to the Gallic bank of the Rhine. It was worth while for Germanicus to turn back his army, and a battle was fought with the besiegers, and Segestes rescued with a large number of relations and clients. These included some women of rank, among whom was the wife of Arminius, the daughter of Segestes, who was inspired by the spirit rather of her husband than of her sire, and was not moved to tears nor to words of entreaty, but kept her hands clasped together within her bosom. The spoils also of the Varian disaster were brought in, having been given as booty to most of those who at this time surrendered themselves; and there, too, was Segestes himself, conspicuous for his stature, and fearless in the consciousness of an alliance faithfully kept.

58. His words were after this wise: "This is not the first day of my loyalty and consistency towards the Roman people. Ever since I was honoured with the citizenship by the divine Augustus, I have chosen my friends and enemies in accordance with your interests, not from hatred of my own country (for traitors are loathed even by those whom they prefer), but because I believed that Romans and Germans have the same interests, and because I approved peace rather than war. Therefore it was that I accused before Varus, who then commanded your army, Arminius, the ravisher of my daughter, and the violator of your treaty; put off by the backwardness of your general, and finding little



protection in the laws, I urged him to imprison myself and Arminius, and those in the plot. I appeal to that night; would it had been my last! What followed is a matter for tears rather than for apology; but I both threw Arminius into chains, and allowed them to be put upon myself by his party. Again, as soon as I have an opportunity of making overtures to you, I show my preference for the old to the new, for peace to revolution, not to win a reward, but to clear myself of treachery, and that I may be a fit mediator for the German nation if it should prefer repentance to ruin. I crave pardon for the youth and folly of my son; my daughter, I confess, has been brought here by compulsion. Yours it will be to decide which fact has the most influence—that she is with child by Arminius, or that she is my daughter.” Caesar, replying in kind terms, promised him safety for his children and relations, and a retreat for himself in the old province. He then led back his army, and received the title of Imperator on the motion of Tiberius. The wife of Arminius gave birth to a male child. The mockery which the boy, who was brought up at Ravenna, subsequently experienced I shall relate at the proper time.

59. The report of the surrender and gracious reception of Segestes was published abroad, and was received with hope or sorrow according as men were disinclined for or desired war. The seizure of his wife, the slavery of his unborn child, acting upon a naturally violent temper, drove Arminius to fury, and he flew through the lands of the Cherusci, demanding war against Segestes and against Caesar. He spared no taunts: “Noble father! mighty general! brave army! whose collected strength have carried off one poor woman. To me three legions and as many legates have succumbed. I do not wage war by treachery, nor against pregnant women, but openly and against armed men. In the groves of the Germans are still seen the Roman standards which I have hung up to our ancestral gods. Let Segestes dwell upon the conquered bank of the Rhine; let him restore to his son the priesthood of mere men; one thing the Germans will never adequately excuse—that they should have seen between the Elbe and the Rhine the rods, axes, and toga. Other nations in their ignorance of Roman rule



have no experience of their punishments, and are ignorant of their taxes ; and as we have rid ourselves of them, and as the great Augustus, despite his apotheosis, and his chosen successor, the famous Tiberius, have both departed foiled, be not afraid of an inexperienced youth and a mutinous army. If you prefer your country, your parents, your ancient habits, to new lords and new settlements, follow Arminius, who will lead you to glory and liberty, and not Segestes to a disgraceful servitude."

60. These words roused not only the Cherusci but also the bordering tribes, and Inguiomerus, uncle of Arminius, who had long had influence with the Romans, was drawn to his party. This heightened Caesar's anxiety. That the war might not break out in one overwhelming onset, he sent Caecina, with forty Roman cohorts, through the territory of the Bructeri to the river Amisia, for the purpose of diverting the enemy, while Pedito the prefect led the cavalry through the territory of the Frisians. Caesar, in person, embarked four legions on shipboard, and conveyed them through the lakes ; and the horse, foot, and fleet met simultaneously at the aforesaid river. The Chauci, on promising aid, were enrolled into companionship with us. The Bructeri, as they were burning their possessions, were routed by L. Stertinius with a body of light-armed troops despatched by Germanicus ; and amid the slaughter and booty he discovered the eagle of the nineteenth legion which had been lost with Varus. The troops were then led to the furthest frontier of the Bructeri, and all the land between the rivers Amisia and Lupia was devastated within a short distance of the Teutoburgian Forest, in which the remains of Varus and his legions were said to lie unburied.

61. A desire accordingly seized Caesar to pay the last offices to the soldiers and their general ; the entire army present was moved to pity for their relations and friends ; in short, for the fortunes of war and the fatalities of human life. After Caecina had been sent on in front to examine the obscure defiles, and to erect bridges and embankments over the marshy pools and treacherous plains, they approached the mournful spots with their hateful sights and hateful recollections. The first camp of Varus, with its wide circuit

and the measurements of its general's headquarters, showed the handiwork of three legions; a diminished remnant was supposed to have occupied the next with its crumbling rampart and shallow fosse. In the centre of the plain were the whitening bones, scattered or heaped according as the men had fled or rallied. Hard by lay fragments of weapons and limbs of horses, and human skulls fastened to trunks of trees; in the neighbouring groves were the altars of the barbarians, at which they had sacrificed the tribunes and centurions of the first ranks; and the survivors of this disaster, who had escaped from the battle or from captivity, recalled the spots where the legates fell; where the eagles were seized; where Varus was first stricken with a wound; where with his own hapless hand and self-inflicted wound he found death; also the platform on which Arminius harangued; the number of gibbets for the prisoners and the pits to bury them alive; and how in his wanton triumph the Cheruscan chief had scoffed at the standards and eagles.

62. And so the Roman army that was present, six years after the disaster, in sorrow and anger began to bury, with passion rising against the foe, the bones of three legions, no one knowing whether he was committing to the ground the remains of a stranger or one of his own kith and kin; but regarding all as friends and kinsmen, Caesar laid the first sod for erecting a mound, performing an act most welcome to the dead, and showing sympathy with those present. This act Tiberius did not approve, either because he put an unfavourable interpretation on all the actions of Germanicus, or because he supposed that the army was rendered disinclined for battle by the sight of their slain and unburied comrades, and more disposed to be afraid of the enemy, and that a general invested with the augurate and its very ancient rites ought to have shunned the pollution of funeral ceremonies.

63. Germanicus, however, followed Arminius as he retired into the wild country, and, as soon as ever there was an opportunity, ordered the cavalry to gallop forth, and gain possession of the plain occupied by the enemy. Arminius, having bidden his men to keep together and draw

near to the woods, suddenly turned ; then he gave to the men, whom he had concealed in the defiles, the signal to sally out. Thereupon our cavalry was thrown into confusion by this new attack, and some cohorts of the reserve, which were sent to the rescue, driven back by the line of fugitives, only increased the panic. They would have been pushed back into a marsh, which, while known to the victors, proved a trap to those unacquainted with it, if Caesar had not led out and drawn up his legions. From this cause the enemy felt terror, his own soldiers confidence ; and the combatants separated without any decisive result. Then, leading back the army to the Amisia, he conveyed his legions back by his fleet in the same way as he had brought them. Some of the cavalry were ordered to make for the Rhine by way of the shore of the ocean. Caecina, who was at the head of his own soldiers, was advised, although returning by a familiar route, to cross the Long Bridges as quickly as possible. This was a narrow causeway amid vast swamps, piled up in former days by L. Domitius. All around was marshy ground sticky with thick clay, or dangerous with streams ; on every side were gradually-sloping woods. These Arminius occupied at this time, for he had outstripped our soldiers, who were laden with baggage and arms, by short cuts and a forced march. Caecina, after deliberating how to restore the bridges crumbling with age, and at the same time thrust back the foe, determined to mark out his camp on the spot, that some might begin the repairs and others the fight.

64. The barbarians attempted to break through the pickets, and bear down upon the road-building parties ; they harassed, surrounded, and charged them ; there arose a confused clamour of workmen and belligerents ; everything was alike adverse to the Romans, the place with its deep morasses, insecure for foothold, and slippery as the soldiers advanced, their persons heavy with coats-of-mail ; nor amid the waters could they aim their weapons aright. The Cherusci, on the other hand, were accustomed to battles amid the marshes ; their limbs were immense, their spears long enough to wound even at a distance. Night at length rescued from defeat the already wavering legions. The Germans, unwearied in consequence of their success, with-

out even then taking any sleep, turned upon the low-lying country all the streams that rose in the surrounding hills. By thus flooding the ground, and submerging that part of the work which was already finished, they doubled the toils of our soldiers. This was Caecina's fortieth campaign in the ranks and in command. Acquainted alike with success and danger, he remained on that account quite intrepid. As he turned over his future movements he could devise no other plan but to keep the enemy within the woods until the wounded and all the heavier-armed part of the line should be some way in advance; for between the hills and the marshes there stretched a plain which would admit of a thin line of march. The legions were chosen, the fifth to guard the right flank, the twenty-first the left; the first to lead the line, and the twentieth to protect it from pursuers.

65. The night was unquiet for various reasons: the barbarians in festive banquets filled the low-lying valleys and re-echoing glens with gleeful songs or wild shouts; among the Romans were flickering fires and broken utterances; the soldiers themselves lay scattered along the ramparts, or wandered to and fro between the tents sleepless rather than watching. A terrible dream filled the general with apprehension; he thought he saw Quintilius Varus besmeared with blood, rising from out the swamps, and heard him as if calling; he did not, however, obey, but thrust away the hands he stretched towards him. At daybreak the legions sent to guard the wings from fear or insubordination abandoned their position, hastily betaking themselves to the plain beyond the swamps. Yet Arminius, although a free passage for attack was offered him, did not at once rush on our soldiers; but when the baggage was stuck fast in the mud and dykes, the soldiers around it in confusion, the order of the standards disarranged, and, as often happens in such a crisis, everyone eager for himself, and with ears deaf to all commands, then he ordered the Germans to charge, exclaiming, "Behold a second Varus, and legions a second time entangled in the same fate!" Saying these words, with some chosen soldiers he broke the line, especially aiming his blows at the horses; they,



staggering in their own blood and the slippery marshes, unhorsed their riders, scattered all who were in their way, and trampled on the prostrate. The fiercest struggle was round the eagles, which could neither be advanced in the face of the storm of missiles, nor planted in the miry ground. Caecina, while supporting the battle, fell from his horse, which was pierced under him, and would have been surrounded had not the first legion presented itself. The greed of the enemy helped him, for leaving the battle they made for the spoil, and the legions at the close of day struggled out into the open and firm ground. Yet this was not the end of their miseries. A rampart had to be raised and the requisite material looked for; the implements by which the earth was piled up and the turf cut were for the most part lost. The companies had no tents, the wounded no lotions; sharing their food spoiled by mire or blood, they bewailed the darkness ominous of their doom, and the one day that alone remained to so many thousands of men.

66. It happened that a horse, breaking its halter, ran loose, and, alarmed by the noise, knocked down some of those who met it; from this arose such a panic among the soldiers, believing that the Germans had forced their way in, that they all rushed to the gates, making especially for the Decuman, which was furthest from the enemy, and therefore safer for flight. Caecina, discovering that the alarm was groundless, was yet unable either by command, entreaty, or even main force to stop or keep back the soldiers; he threw himself, therefore, down headlong on the threshold of the gate, and at last by means of pity, because they would have to pass over the body of their general, closed the way; at the same moment the tribunes and centurions proved to them that it was a false alarm.

67. Caecina then assembled them at his headquarters, and bidding them listen to his words in silence, warned them of the crisis and their straits. "Your one hope of safety is in your swords; these, however, must be used with discretion. You must remain within the ramparts till the enemy, in the hope of carrying the place by storm, approach nearer; then you must break out on all sides. By your charge you



will be able to reach the Rhine; if you flee, more woods, deeper morasses, a cruel foe is in store for you; if you conquer, glory and renown." He recalled to their minds all that they held dear at home and honourable in the camp; he made no mention of reverses. Next he handed over, without any partiality, the horses of the legates and tribunes, beginning with his own, to the bravest fighters in the army, that these first and then the infantry might attack the enemy.

68. The Germans passed the time with equal uneasiness amid hope and eagerness, and conflicting opinions from their chiefs. Arminius advised that they should let the Romans leave their camp, and when they had departed surround them again in the difficult swamps. Inguiomerus was for more spirited plans, such as barbarians exult in, namely, to surround the rampart in arms. To storm the place would, he said, be easy; captives would be more numerous, and booty unspoilt. Accordingly, at daybreak they filled the trenches with earth, flung in hurdles, and seized hold of the top of the rampart, the Romans being stationed at distant intervals, and apparently paralyzed with fear. While they were impeded by the fortifications, the signal was given to the cohorts, and the horns and trumpets sounded; then with a shout and a charge they threw themselves on the rear of the Germans, exclaiming with jeers that here were no woods, no fens, but impartial deities and equal ground. The blare of the trumpets and the gleam of arms struck the enemy, who were expecting an easy annihilation of the foe, and thought to meet only a few half-armed opponents, with all the more terror because unexpected. They fell, being just as disconcerted in defeat as they had been eager in success. Arminius left the battle unhurt, Inguiomerus with a severe wound; the common soldiers were massacred as long as the Roman rage and the light of day lasted. At length at night the legions returned, and although more wounds and the same want of provisions distressed them, they found strength, health, supplies, everything in victory.

69. Meantime a rumour had spread that the army was surrounded, and that an exasperated army of Germans

was making for Gaul ; and if Agrippina had not prevented the bridge built over the Rhine from being broken down, there were some who would in their panic have dared that enormity. She was a woman of high spirit, and took upon herself in those days the functions of a general, and distributed clothes and medicine to the soldiers according as they were naked or wounded. C. Pliny, the historian of the German wars, relates that she stood at the head of the bridge with praise and thanks for the returning legions. This sank deep into the mind of Tiberius. Such anxiety, he thought, was not disinterested, nor were the soldiers being courted to attack a foreign foe. Nothing was left to the generals now that a woman visited the companies, attended the standards, attempted bribery ; as though, forsooth, popular applause was not courted enough in leading her son about in the dress of a common soldier, and in wishing him to be called Caesar Caligula. Agrippina had now more influence with the armies than the legates and generals ; a mutiny had been crushed by a woman, which the emperor's own name had not been able to withstand. Seianus inflamed and aggravated these thoughts, in his knowledge of Tiberius' character sowing seeds of jealousy for a distant future, which the emperor might bury and bring to light with increase.

70. Meanwhile, of the legions which he had brought by ship, Germanicus gave the second and fourteenth to P. Vitellius to be conducted by a land route, that the vessels might float more lightly in the shallow water, or ground less heavily at the ebb-tide. Vitellius at first found his journey easy, the shore being dry or the waves only coming in gently. After a time, owing to a driving north wind, together with the equinoctial season, at which time the ocean rises highest, the army was driven hither and thither ; the land also was flooded ; sea, shore, and plain had but one aspect ; quicksands could not be distinguished from firm land, nor shoals from deep water. They were swept away by the waves, sucked up in the whirlpools ; mules, baggage, corpses floated about and blocked up the way ; companies were mingled together in disarray, now with their breasts, now with their heads only above water ;

sometimes the ground was withdrawn from under their feet, and they were separated or drowned. No voice of mutual encouragement helped them there in the face of the waves; the hero was as the coward, the wise man as the foolish; forethought was the same as chance; everything was attacked by the waves with equal fury. At last Vitellius struggled out to the higher ground, and led his army up thither; they passed the night without necessities, without fire, for the most part naked or bruised, not less pitiable than men besieged by an enemy; for the latter have indeed the resource of an honourable death, while for them was only inglorious destruction. The return of day restored the land to them, and they reached the stream for which Caesar had made with his fleet. The legions were then placed on board, while a rumour spread far and wide that they were drowned; nor did any give credence to the news of their safety till they saw Caesar and the army return.

71. And now Stertinius, who had been sent on to receive the submission of Segimerus, brother of Segestes, brought him and his son to the state of the Ubii. Both received pardon, Segimerus readily, his son after some hesitation, because he was believed to have insulted the corpse of Quintilius Varus. On the other hand, the Gauls, Spains, and Italy vied in making good the losses of the army, each offering what they possessed, arms, horses, and gold. Germanicus praised their zeal, but took only their arms and horses for purposes of war, and relieved the soldiers from his own purse. And to alleviate the memory also of their disaster by his kindness, he visited the wounded, and praised the deeds of man after man; he examined their wounds, and won to him the minds of one by hope, of another by honour, and of all by consolation and interest, and strengthened them for battle.

72. In that year triumphal honours were decreed to A. Caecina, L. Apronius, and C. Silius for their achievements with Germanicus. The title of Father of his country, again and again urged upon him by his people, was rejected by Tiberius; nor did he, in spite of a vote of the senate, allow an oath of allegiance to his acts to be taken, declaring repeatedly that everything belonging to mortals was

uncertain, and the more he obtained the more slippery was his foothold. Yet he did not any the more create a belief that his was a constitutional spirit, for he re-enacted the law of treason, which had indeed the same name among our ancestors, though the cases that came into court formerly were different; such as, if anyone impaired the army by treachery, or the commons by riots, or, in short, the dignity of the Roman people by any malicious public act: deeds were punishable, speeches enjoyed impunity. Augustus was the first to apply legal jurisdiction under the colour of this law to the case of lampoons, moved thereto by the license wherewith Cassius Severus had maligned in wanton pamphlets men and women of distinction; afterwards Tiberius, on being consulted by Pompeius Macer, the praetor, as to whether the treason-courts should be revived, replied, "The laws must be enforced." His anger, too, had been roused by verses published anonymously against his cruelty and arrogance, and his differences with his mother.

73. It will not be useless to relate the charges that were attempted in the case of Falanius and Rubrius, Roman knights of moderate fortune, so that it may be known from what origin, and through what cunning on the part of Tiberius, a most serious mischief first crept into the state, was subsequently checked, but finally blazed forth and seized on everything. Against Falanius it was alleged by his accuser that among the worshippers of Augustus, who were formed in every house into a kind of association, he had admitted one Cassius, a buffoon of infamous life; and that when his gardens were sold he had put up to sale at the same time a statue of Augustus. Rubrius was charged with violating by perjury the name of Augustus. When this became known to Tiberius, he wrote to the consuls, saying that a place in heaven had not been decreed to his father, in order that this honour should be turned to the destruction of the citizens. The actor Cassius, with others of the same profession, was, he said, accustomed to be present at the games which his mother, Livia, had consecrated to the memory of Augustus; nor was it contrary to religious custom that his statues, like the images of other deities, should be added to the sales of gardens and



houses. As for the oath, it ought to be considered just as if the man had deceived Jupiter; the gods would see to their own injuries.

74. Shortly after Granius Marcellus, praetor of Bithynia, was brought to trial for treason by his own quaestor Caepio Crispinus, the indictment being supported by Romanus Hispo. Crispinus then entered on a course of life which the wretchedness of the times and the daring of men afterwards rendered frequent. For, needy, unknown, and restless, he wound himself by secret information into the favour of the cruel emperor, and subsequently endangered all the citizens of renown; and having gained influence with one man, and the hatred of everybody else, he set a precedent followed by men, who thus becoming rich instead of poor, objects of fear instead of objects of contempt, brought ruin upon others, and finally upon themselves. But to return. He pretended that Marcellus had made some sinister remarks about Tiberius, a charge from which there was no escape, for the accuser selected all the most loathsome features of the emperor's character, and made them his indictment against the defendant. For because they were true, they were believed to have been actually spoken. Hispo added that Marcellus had placed his own statue higher than those of the Caesars, and that on another statue, after cutting off the head of Augustus, he had set that of Tiberius. At this Tiberius was so incensed that, breaking his wonted silence, he declared that he himself too would in this case give his vote openly and under oath. This he did that the others might be under the same obligation. There remained even then a few traces of expiring liberty. And so Cn. Piso remarked, "In what order will you vote, Caesar? If first, I shall have something to follow; if last, I fear that from want of foresight I may differ from you." Greatly moved by these words, and relenting all the more through regret, in proportion as his explosion of anger had been thoughtless, he allowed the accused to be acquitted on the charges of treason; the charge of extortion was referred to the special board.

75. Not satisfied with the judicial enquiries of the



Fathers, the emperor would sit on the praetor's tribunal at the corner, so as not to displace him from the curule chair, and many things were decided in his presence to check bribery and the solicitations of the powerful. But while truth was cared for, liberty was being ruined. For example, Pius Aurelius, a senator, complained that his house had been undermined, owing to the massive character of the public road, and by an aqueduct, and called upon the senate for assistance. When the praetors of the treasury resisted, Caesar came to the rescue, and paid Aurelius the price of his house, for he liked spending money for honourable purposes, a virtue which he long retained, though he put off all others. To Propertius Celer, a man of praetorian standing, who asked leave to resign the senatorial rank on the score of poverty, he gave a sum of a million sesterces, having made quite sure that the narrowness of his resources was inherited from his father. He bade others who attempted the same thing prove their case to the senate, harsh in his liking for strictness, even when he acted rightly; on these grounds every one else preferred silence and poverty to avowal and relief.

76. In the same year the Tiber, swollen with unceasing rains, flooded the level parts of the city; its subsidence was followed by a destruction of buildings and men. Asinius Gallus accordingly proposed that the Sibylline books should be consulted; Tiberius refused his consent, enveloping in obscurity things human and divine alike; nevertheless, the task of finding means to confine the river was entrusted to Ateius Capito and L. Arruntius. It was determined that Achaia and Macedonia, on complaining of their burdens, should be relieved for the present from the proconsular administration, and should be handed over to Caesar. Drusus presided at the gladiatorial shows which he exhibited in his own name and that of his brother Germanicus, for he gloated over bloodshed, however common. This spread alarm among the people, and his father, it was said, reproved him. There were various interpretations as to why the emperor absented himself from the spectacle; some said it was from satiety of crowds, others from austerity of temperament, and from fear of comparison, as Augustus

had viewed them with affability. I cannot believe that he purposely gave this opportunity to his son to display his cruelty and to arouse the dislike of the people, though this too has been asserted.

77. Meantime the license of the theatre, which first appeared in the previous year, broke out at this time in more serious fashion ; for not only were some of the common people slain, but also some soldiers and a centurion, and a tribune of a praetorian cohort was wounded, in trying to restrain the insults of the mob to the magistrates and their quarrels. This riot was brought up before the senate, and opinions were expressed that the praetors should have the right of inflicting the lash upon actors ; but Haterius Agrippa, a tribune of the plebs, vetoed the proposal, and was angrily attacked by Asinius Gallus in a set speech ; Tiberius, however, who did not grudge these shows of liberty to the senate, held his peace. Nevertheless, the veto held good, for the divine Augustus had once pronounced actors to be exempt from the lash, and it was not right for Tiberius to annul his decision. There were several decrees passed to fix the amount of their pay, and to check the insolence of their partisans ; the most important were, that no senator was to enter the house of a pantomime player ; no Roman knights were to surround them when they came into the streets ; they were not to exhibit anywhere except in the theatre ; and the praetors were to have power to punish with exile any want of order in the spectators.

78. The Spaniards, on making the request, received permission to build a temple to Augustus in the colony of Tarraco, and a precedent was set for all the provinces. When the people demanded relief from the one per cent. tax on all goods for sale, Tiberius issued a proclamation that the military chest relied on that means of revenue ; that even with it the state was unequal to the burden, unless the veterans were not dismissed until their twentieth year of service. Thus the ill-advised policy of the late mutiny, by which the soldiers had extorted discharge at the end of sixteen years' service, was abrogated for the future.

79. A discussion was then begun in the senate by Arruntius and Ateius as to whether the rivers and lakes by which

the volume of the Tiber is increased should be diverted in order to check its floods. Deputations from the townships and colonies were heard, the Florentini begging that the Clanis should not be turned from its bed and diverted into the river Arnus, lest this should bring ruin upon themselves. The people of Interamna brought forward arguments similar to these; the most fertile plains of Italy would, they said, be destroyed if the river Nar, as was proposed, should be drawn off into several streams, and overflow their banks. Nor did the inhabitants of Reate remain silent. They urged that the Veline lake, which discharges itself into the Nar, should not be dammed up, as it would be sure to force its way out into the surrounding country; nature had best consulted the interests of mankind in giving to rivers their mouths, their streams, and their limits, as well as their sources. The religious observances of their allies, too, should be considered, who had dedicated sacred rites, groves, and altars to their ancestral streams; nay, Tiber himself, deprived of his tributary streams, would be unwilling to flow forward with lesser glory. The petitions of the colonies, or the difficulties of the works, or superstitious feeling prevailed, so that Piso's opinion was agreed to, who proposed that there should be no change.

80. The command of Poppaeus Sabinus in the province of Moesia was prolonged, and Achaia and Macedonia added to his administration. It was one of Tiberius' characteristics to lengthen commands, and to keep many men to the end of their lives at the head of the same armies or jurisdictions. Various motives are given for this: some say that from dislike of fresh anxiety he maintained as perpetual what he had once resolved upon; others that it was from envy lest a larger number should enjoy power. There are some who suppose that his decision was as irresolute as his perception was acute, for he did not aim at distinguished merit, and, on the other hand, shunned vice; he feared danger for himself from the best men, and from the worst, dishonour to the state; and in this irresolution he finally went so far that he assigned provinces to some whom he did not mean to allow to leave the city.

81. I can hardly venture to make any definite statement

about the consular elections which were held then for the first time under this emperor, or subsequently, so utterly conflicting are the accounts found, not only in historians, but also in his own speeches; sometimes suppressing the names of the candidates, he described their origin, life, and military service, so that it might be known who they were; occasionally omitting even these hints, he urged the candidates not to embroil the elections by canvassing, and promised his own aid in that direction; generally he asserted that only those had offered themselves as candidates, whose names he had published to the consuls, and that others could offer themselves if they had confidence in their influence or their deserts. The words were fair, but really meaningless and deceptive; the greater the show of liberty by which they were veiled, the more oppressive was the slavery in which they were destined to result.

Sept., 1890.



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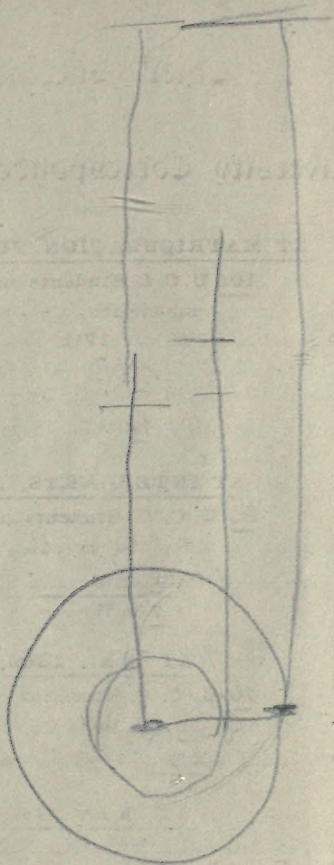
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